Romance of Historiography from Shah Alam I to Shah Alam II

(NON-EUROPEAN)

Jagadish Narayan Sarkar

RATNA PRAKASHAN
Calcutta

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PREFACE

The study of historiography has not progressed much in our couutry. The universities which have included this subject in their post-graduate courses of studies can be counted on one's finger tips. Even here the emphasis is on modern times, for which there are several standard works. But the study of historiography during the medieval period suffers from comparative neglect. With the exception of some detailed and critical works like those of Dr. Peter Hardy and Dr. Harbans Mukhia dealing with particular ages, the Turko-Afghan and early Mughal periods, there is hardly any work of a general character suited to the needs of Indian students. Professor Subrahmaniyam's book is a valuable encyclopaedic work covering the entire gamut of the subjeet in different countries including India through the ages right up to modern times. Hence it is a very useful contribution which would help dispel the fears associated with the study of the subject from the minds of students. Five years ago an attempt was made by the present writer to deal with the "History of History-Writing in Medieval India : Contemporary Historians" (1977). It is a critical condensed study in depth of historiography up to the end of the seventeenth century. The post-Aurangzeb period was discussed there very briefly.

The present volume deals with the subject in an analytical way during the eighteenth century. As such it is a continuation and supplement to my earlier work. Nevertheless it has an independent value of its own. It seeks to explain the main springs of history-writing and the factors which encouraged it during this century of disintegration and transition. It analyses the various forms and facades which historiography took in different parts of India from the north to the south, and the east to the west. It covers the works produced by writers of different nationalities (except European) in different languages—Persian, Marathi, Rajasthani, Assamese, Gurumukhi, Bengali and Urdu.

It touches different aspects of historiography-archival materials, chronicles (including official or non-official or private histories), relating to imperial, regional and local histories, biographical works and auto-biographical memories, administrative manuals, epistles, and metrical histories. The contributions of Hindu historians and memoir-writers has been discussed separately.

After this broad survey of historiography, an attempt has been made to assess its nature with reference to the problems faced by the researchers finding their way through the tangled jungle of sources to the temple of

Clio. It is indeed an adventure, full of romance and thrill. A probe into the personal histories and social status of the historians as far as possible, and a search for their ideas and attitudes, methodology and technique will also be found interesting. Finally the extent of there success has been assessed.

The present book has grown out of the comission of Professor N. R. Ray, present Director of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, when he asked me to deliver the second memorial lecture in honour of its Founder-Director, Dr. S. P. Sen, on June 9, 1981. I am profoundly grateful to Professor Ray for this honour. The essay is based on this lecture and is published now with his permission. My thanks are due to Professor Dr. Ganda Singh, for supplying me with materials for history in Punjabi literature and publishing the long text in one issue of his esteemed journal, *The Punjab Past and Present* for November, 1981. Dr. P. N. Chakrabarty, Ph.D, a reserach scholar of mine, has prepared the index and the errata. Messrs. Pholkian Press, Patiala, and Lipi Mudrani, Calcutta, both deserve my thanks for printing. To Sri K. C. De of Messers. Ratna Prakashan I am thankful for agreeing to be my publisher. Nose parate bibliography is given. The attention of the readers is respectfully drawn to that given in my *History of History-Writing in Medieval India* (1977) and to the notes of the present work. Notwithstanbing best efforts somet ypographical errors have crept in. My sincere apology is due for the disturbance in the sequence in printing of the essay : para 10. "Hindu historians and Memoir-writers' has been printed at 70 ff, instead of at 54 ff. For these I crave the indulgence of the readers.

Calcutta-700075.

J . N. Sarkar
25. 6. 82.

To
My Elder Brother
PRITHWIS NARAYAN SARKAR

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Romance of Historiography from Shah Alam I to Shah Alam II (Non-European)*

DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

The eighteenth century was admittedly a period of decline and disintegration in our country's history with all its concomitant manifestations and consequences. The death of Aurangzeb was followed by weakening of the power of the monarchy and the absence of a strong central power, rise of various parties within the empire, mutually quarrelling for power, repeated foreign invasions, rise of independent states and the increasing role of the aspiring nationalities—the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Jats, the Bundelas,—Anglo-French rivalry, finally leading to the rise of the English East India Company as a political power in Bengal. The collapse of the old order made the century one of concentrated horror. But it was not wholly a dark age, when the mind became stagnant and the intellect barren. One of the best proofs of this is furnished by the historiography of the period. The eighteenth century left a very rich legacy of literary and historical works by writers of diverse races, creeds and tongues which serve as authorities for studying the history of the period.

Even a bare mention of these would sound like a roll of guns. One explanation of the writing of histories galore would be the growth of historical consciousness among various classes and categories of persons, some peers and some middle class persons, due to the momentum of the preceding centuries, especially of the 16th-17th. Numerous authors have mentioned the historical and even semi-historical books of the Muslims and the Hindus consulted by them in writing their own. Some have stated that study of history was their principal interest. In fact, one author, Md. Aslam, author of *Farhat-un-Nazirin* ('Delight of Observers,' 1184/1770-1),[1] refers to the 'universal desire to read historical works' and the difficulty of procuring them. Some like Umrao Singh of Benares, an employee of British government Revenue Department, felt the need of abridgement of *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh* in his *Zubdat-ul-Akhbar*,[2] as the standard histories were too voluminous. A few fond fathers, Mirza Māsita[3] of high Turkish lineage and Inayat Husain[4] wrote histories to instruct their sons, while others like Harsukh Rai composed works for edification and instruction.

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* This is based on a lecture delivered at the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, on the second death anniversary of its founder Director Dr. S.P. Sen. The present paper deals with non-European historiography in eighteenth century India. But the subject is vast and is discussed in outline only. No student of the subject can afford to forget his deep debt to his *purvasuris*, non-Indian and Indian, dead or alive,—for it is their pioneering and herculean efforts which greased the difficult approach to the contemporary historians. To mention only a few, Elliot and Dowson, W. Irvine, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, A. L. Srivastava, V.K. Rajwade, G.S. Sardesai, V.G. Dighe, N.K. Sinha, Ganda Singh, Hari Ram Gupta, Raghuvir Sinha, Satish Chandra, Yusuf Husain, K.K. Dutta and others. The bibliographies in their standard works as also in Cambridge History of India, IV and V, and R.C. Majumdar (ed. *The Maratha Supremacy*) are valuable and detailed.

Another explanation would be that the stirring events of the century supplied ample materials to persons interested in the subject to dwell on them in whatever way they thought fit. One has necessarily to observe the close connection between the current events and history-writing. Historiography was a reflection, a mirror of political and social changes of the period. The Grand Monarchy of the Great Mughals had once been the theme of Royal Historiographers as well as of private chroniclers. The sunset of that monarchy under the 'Lesser' Mughals, with its changing, variegated colours was also sought to be portrayed by historiographers, official, or non-official, or private, indigenous or immigrant. The anonymous author of *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* puts it beautifully thus : 'Time in its changeful torturous course is always bringing some fresh event, and new flowers are everyday blooming in the garden of the world. In these days events have come to pass such as have never entered into the mind of man, and of these it is the writer's intention to give a brief relation.' The author wanted to record these. A few authors sought to prepare the minds of readers and have significantly given a grim name to their books, *Ibratnamah* like the 'Danger' mark of high voltage electric installations or on roads with precipice or crevice. Writers with a philosophic bent of mind have sought to derive consolation, by seeing the play of the divine will in the ghastly tragedies enacted.[5] But others like Rustam Ali, author of the universal history, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, used history as a means of mental escape. He says that as contemporaries neglected to ponder on human existence (either its origin or end), he wanted to write an account of just kings, who controlled tyrants and oppressors, so that history would be a lesson to the wise, illustrate the instability of earthly pleasures, emphasize the short duration of life and the need of other worldliness. He thus emphasized the didactic value of history (E. & D., viii, p. 40). Poets wrote verses to describe particular events like wars.

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[1] Son of Md. Hafiz-ul-Ansari. The work is a general history of India. Elliot and Dowson (hereinafter E&D), viii, pp 163-4.

[2] It comes up to the accession of Md. Akbar II or rather up to the appointment of Sir E. Colebrooke as a Commissioner of ceded and conquered Provinces. E. & D., viii. p. 374.

[3] One of his paternal ancestors, Alivardi Khan Turkoman, descended from Seljuq Sultan Sanjar, came to India (*temp. Jahangir*) and became a peer; appointed governor of Malwa by Shahjahan (M.U. and T.U.). Through his mother he was connected with Islam Khan, Shahjahan's Wazir (governor of 3 Deccani *Subahs*).

The author wrote *Intikhab-ut-Tawarikh* during the reign of Shah Alam II for instructing his son Karimullah Khan (alias Mirza Kallu). It is an abstract history from Hindu times, with an introduction and two books, (i) Kings of Delhi and some provinces in N. India; (ii) Kings of Decan. The conclusion includes distances and revenues of each province. The work is divided into *warak* (leaves) *Satar* (lines). E. & D., vii. p. 374f.

[4] The author, who resided at Mahrard, wrote *Kashiful Akhbar* ('Revealer of News' for his son Imdad Husain and edification of some friends. The historical portion is a mere transcript from previous writers. But the geographical account of *Subhas* of Hindustan is most useful (though not newer than *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*). He claims to have consulted 484 works. It was written after 1805 for it refers to death of Shah Alam and accession of Akbar II, E. & D., viii, p. 372.

Thirdly, invaders like Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani caught hold of the imagination of poets, historians and accompanying travellers. Fourthly, among the various surging nationalities within the empire seeking to establish their separate identities, the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Jats and the Bundelas, the intellectuals or the bards, young and old sought to perpetuate the golden chords of memory by noting down or reciting the glories and achievements of their peoples and leaders. In the north-eastern corner, the Assamese, who had finally driven the Mughals away from Kamrup in 1682, had their own annals. Fifthly, the exploits of the adventurous founders of principalities in different regions from the Punjab to Mysore and Gujrat to Bengal were recounted by historians. But what is very striking is that the arena of historiography was now invaded by an army of Hindu writers (mostly of middle class) writing in Persian in this age of political degeneration. Historiography thus reflected a social change, —rise of the middle classes in this period.

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[5] cf. 'A true tragedy is a potent force to purge the soul by exciting pity and horror' Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, iii.

Further, each of the European companies, rivals in commerce, influence and power, had their own historians and writers to dilate on their own achievements in Indian states as well as their relations *inter se*. Travellers from their respective countries also left their accounts of what they saw in India, particularly regarding the courts of the various country powers. But this European historiography of the period has not been taken up in this essay.

Apart from the basic reasons underlying the writing of histories, there were a few factors which served to encourage the prospective writers. Royal patronage was now a thing of the past. The aristocracy, once *arkan-i-daulat* (pillars of state), but now nicknamed *hasad-pesha* for their quarrelsome disposition found little time to engage in historical studies except a small number. Some scholars, reduced to poverty by circumstances, who had to suspend their scholastic activities, came to be encouraged by ministers or nobles or their own relations in peaceful pursuit of their divinely inspired work, which enabled them to drown their grief at bereavements. Thus Inayetullah Khan encouraged Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan in his financial distress, which enabled him to write *Haft Gulshan-i-Muhammad Shahi* and *Tarikh-i-Chaghtai*, which might serve to perpetuate his name to posterity. Rustam Ali, author of *Tarikh-i-Hind* was liberally supported by Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, a nobleman of Bhopal. Muhammad Muhsin Sādiqi, a *walashahi*, son of Hanif, wrote *Jauhar-i-Samsam* (named after Amirul Umara Samsam-ud-daula) from Aurangzeb's death to the departure of Nadir Shah with details only from Farrukhsiyar at the "earnest entreaty of Shaikh 'Alauddin, an old and constant associate of Amir Samsamuddaula in all his military exploits, who related all the particulars to him "[6] However, a large majority of the writers, not the happy recipients of lordly or friendly patronage, had to find for themselves, inspired by some inner urge or motivated by the desire to record what they saw or heard.

Another conducive factor was the patronage of the new British masters, the early British generals and administrators, who evinced forethought, initiative and enterprise in having written records about this country and its peoples, now conquered and administred by them, for knowledge is a sure foundation of all sound statesmanship and governance. In fact the patronage of the British administrators replaced in the sense the court patronage of the Mughals. A few examples may be noted.

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[6] E & D, viii, pp. 13, 14, 40, 72.

(a) To Captain Jonathan Scott we owe three important contributions to 18th century :

(i) Sheikh Murtaza Husain Bilgrami (surname Allahyar Usmani (? Sani), Elliot's accurate 'Moortuza Hosain') was introduced to Scott in 1776, employed as one of his *munshis* and wrote his famous geographical work *Hadiqat-ul Aqālim* (OPL.MS.) at the request of his master. E. & D., viii. (Print. Lucknow, 1879.)

(ii) *Shahadat-i Farrukhsiyar wa Julus-i-Muhammad Shah* by Mirza Muhammad Bakhsh Ashob.

(iii) Ghulam Husain 'Somin' wrote his *Halat-i-Amdan* (1756-7), dealing with the Abdali's invasion of Delhi (1755-6) at the order of Scott, when he had audience with him (1782-3).

(b) It was for Capt. James Brown of East India Company, then Resident with Emperor Shah Alam II, that

(i) Budh Singh Arora wrote *Risalah-i-Nanak Shah* (a history of the Sikhs) about 1785 with the collaboration of *munshi* Ajaib Singh of Maler (Kotla).

(ii) Muhammad Saleh Qudrat wrote *Tarikh-i-Ali*, MS., Dec. 1785 (OPL), a general history of the Mughal empire (1707-61) with special reference to the Punjab.

(iii) Browne's translation of Kashiraj Pandit's account of Third Battle of Panipat (1761), published in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. III (1792), held the field (though somewhat free) till 1934 when Sir Jadunath Sarkar retranslated it.

(c) It was probably for Sir Charles W. Mallet that Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan wrote his *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulah* about 1773.

(d) To Kirkpatrick brothers we owe a few important works. Sheo (or Shiva) Prasad wrote the *Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh* (or *-i-Farah Bakhsh*), a history of the Ruhela Afghans (1190/1775-76) for Capt. Kirkpatrick (brother of General Kirkpatrick), who wanted to send an English translation to the king of England. Amir Haidar Husaini Wasiti of Bilgram (whose ancestors came from Wasit in Arabia) composed *Sawanih-i-Akbari* (A history of Akbar up to 24th regnal year), at about the end of the 18th century, for *Mufakhkhar-ud-daula Bahadur Shaukat-i-Jang* William Kirkpatrick. Blochmann praised it as "perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native."[7]

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[7] E & D, viii, pp. 175, 193.

(e) Faqir Khairuddin (*Ibratnamah*, 1806) was the *munshi* of James Anderson, British Resident at Sindhia's court in Delhi (1783-4).

(f) Ghulam Basit, disappointed in getting service in Mughal government, was appointed *munshi* of an Englishman, Itiqaduddaulah Nasir-ul-Mulk General Charles Burt. For him he wrote the *Tarikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind (*or ? *Tarikh-i-Basit* or *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh)*, a history of the rulers of Hindustan, Hindu or Muslim, "on the authority of books and oral testimony" (especially of his 105 years old father, Shaikh Saifullah of Bijnor, in Mughal service for whole life.[8]

(g) Mir Sayyid Ghulam Ali wrote the *Imad-us-Saadat*, a history of the Nawabs of Oudh (1223/1808) at the request of Col. Baillie, British Resident at Lucknow. A more detailed work was his *Nigarnamah-i-Hind* (undated) after learning of Kashiraj's account of the third battle of Panipat. He wrote this "partly from the bent of his own inclinations and partly for the sake of pleasing Col. Baillie."[9]

(h) Faqir Khair-ud-din Muhammad wrote the *Balwantnamah* (history of the Rajahs of Benares) "at the instigation of some English gentlemen."[10]

(i) Md. Ali Khan, *darogha* of *faujdari Adalat* of Tirhut and Hajipur, who held "much communication" with contemporary European officers, wrote the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* (c. 1800), a general history of India.[11]

(j) It was at the desire of Sir Charles Metcalfe that Khushwaqt Rai, then the agent and intelligencer of the British government at Amritsar, compiled his valuable work, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan* or *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Punjab* upto 1811 (1812).

(k) Two histories of Bengal were written at the instance of Englishmen. Salimullah wrote his *Tarikh-i-Bāngālah* (history of Bengal, 1107-69 AH, death of Alivardi) at the order of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, 1760-64.[12]

(l) Ghulam Husain Salim of Maldah wrote the *Riyaz-us-Salatin* (1786-87) at the request of Mr. George Udni, whose *munshi* he was.

(m) Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan Bahadur wrote the *Tarikh-i-*

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 394, 396-7.

[10] Not specified. E & D, viii, p. 416.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 316.

[12] Rieu, i. p. 312 : Tr. by Francis Gladwin, 1788 (incomplete and incorrect: *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal.*

Ibrahim Khan (history of the Marathas, 1786) during the administration of Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor-General, who was highly praised.[13]

(n) An instance of how history was made subservient to the controversies among British officials (re : the wisdom or otherwise of the Permanent Settlement) was supplied by Sarup Chand Khatri's *Sahih-ul-Akhbār*, a general history of India (1794-5) containing the rule of the Hindu and Muslim rulers and explanation of terms like *Raja*, *Zamindar*, *Chaudhuri*, *Taluqdar*, *Havaldar* and revenue and political affairs of Bengal. It was written at the command of Sir John Shore, then Governor-General, who was opposed to the Permanent Settlement.[14]

(o) Encouragement also came from the French Monsier Gentil (then at Faizabad). Muhammad Aslam petitioned through Nazim Jung Mudabbir-ul-Mulk Rafiuddaula Gentil at the court of the Wazir of Hindustan. He encouraged him to write an account of the wazir's family, of the Emperors of Hindustan, the Prophets and famous personages (*Farhat-un-Nazirin*, Delight of observers, 1184/1770-1).[15]

The subject would consist of two parts : (A) A broad survey of historiography; (B) A critical assessment.

A. A Broad Survey of Historiography

Before we assess the nature of historiography of the 18th century it is first necessary to survey the field of the historians and their historiography and to analyse its forms and facades. We will do so with regard to the different languages in which the works were written, viz.

(i) Persian (and Arabic ?); (ii) Marathi; (iii) Rajasthani; (iv) Punjabi (Gurmukhi); (v) Assamese; (vi) Hindi and Urdu; and (vii) Bengali and Sanskrit.

We have to deal with Persian *tawarikhs*, Marathi *Bakhars*, Rajasthani *Khyats*, *Bahis*, etc., the Gurmukhi sources *(Prakash)*; Assamese *Buranjis* and some metrical works in other languages. However, the lion's share in the following discussion will be taken by histories written in 'Persian' on account of the variety and volume of the compositions written in the language. It should, however, be borne in mind that 'Persian' historiography includes works written by Muslim as well as Hindu authors and so it is not exclusively Muslim historiography. But if we consider that the Hindu historians writing in Persian, slavishly initated[16] the idiom and style of their Muslim brethren, we may equate 'Persian' historiography with Muslim historiography in a broad sense.

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[13] E & D, viii, p. 257.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 313.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 163-5. A few others who were in service of the British government wrote histories of the Abdali, the Sikhs and the Punjab, but these were in the 19th century (see H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, 1739-68, Biblio. Sir John Malcolm used the *Khalsanamah* of Diwan Bakht Mal (1910-4) for his *Sketch of the Sikhs*.

I have, therefore, tried to study the 18th century Indian historiography in the *background* of *Muslim historiography* outside India and also of historiography in India during preceding centuries.

Muslim historiography in India in 18th century represents in a sense the last stage in India of that *ilm-ul-Tarikh* (the art of history-writing) that had begun outside India eleven hundred years ago and had developed with changes outside and in India since then. An idea of the volume and variety of Persian and Arabic histories in pre-Mughal, Mughal and post-Mughal (18th century) can be gathered from Elliot and Dowson's monumental series *History of India as told by its own Historians* in 8 volumes (1867-'77), the catalogues in libraries in Great Britain and Europe and in India, Sri Ram Sharma, *Bibliography of Mughal India*, C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature—a Bio-Bibliographical Survery*, 1927-58, D.N. Marshall, *The Mughals in India*, and in my short book, *History of History Writing in Medieval India* (1977). In fact newer sources have been discovered since the days of Elliot and are still coming to light, thanks to the patient and painstaking search of scholars in private collections and even in shops. It is to be borne in mind that a systematic and continuous search of the 'buried' treasures of Clio of all kinds and their preservation is necessary to save these from the ravages of time, insects and even vandalism or negligence of man.

We may analyze the characteristics of 18th century historiography under the following heads :

i. Archival Materials,

ii. Chronicles or Histories Proper : Preliminary Remarks, Form or Method; Chronological or Topical ? Official or Private ? Content or Scope : —no hard and fast line of distinction.

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[16] To these 'Slavish crew' of Hindu writers a Hindu was 'an infidel,' a Muhammadan 'one of true faith; Hindus had killed 'their souls despatched' to hell, but a Muhammadan dying drank 'the cup of martyrdom' they spoke of the 'light of Islam,' of the 'blessed Muhurram,' of the illustrious Book'; they began their book with a Bismillah. H. Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, vol. I, *General Histories* (1849), Preface, pp. xviii-xix.

Official histories.

iii. Non-official or Private histories : (i) Universal history; (ii) General history of Muslim world; (iii) General histories of India; (iv) Episodic histories of particular reigns; (v) Non-Persian chronicles —Marathi Bakhars; Rajasthani Khyats; Assamese Buranjis; Gurumukhi; Urdu.

iv. Biographical Literature : its forms;

v. Autobiographies and Memoris;

vi. Regional and Local History;

vii. Administrative Literature;

viii. Correspondence;

ix. Metrical History;

x. Hindu historians.

I. Archival Materials

Official records, stored in government archives, cannot by any stretch of imagination be regarded as histories proper. Invaluable though they are as supplying the 'current news in the freshest form,' they can at best be regarded as materials for history-writing. Nevertheless no clear and complete idea of historiography of 18th century, as of any other period in any country, is possible without reference to archival materials,—Mughal, Maratha, Rajasthani, and Assamese.

(i) *Mughal archives* : Today it is impossible to have any idea of the Mughal archives as these are wholly sequestrated and dispersed. One principal constituent of these were orders of different degrees, *farmans* (of emperors), *nishans* (of princes), *parwanahs* (of officials), *hasb-ul-hukms* (letters of high officers 'by order of the Emperor under his seal'), *dastur-ul-'amls*, revenue papers, judicial orders, etc.

Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mu'alla or News of the Imperial Court, i.e., court bulletins included orders, activities and observations of the Emperor, appointments, promotions, transfers, dismissals, etc., provincial news-letters and reports of generals and departmental heads (which were read out). Such facts were not usually recorded elswehere. Copies of these were kept by Rajas, officers and governors through their agents. These are available from 1659-1730 (with gaps) in Jaipur (now in Bikaner) and from 1753-56 (in Peshwa daftar). These are of primary authority. But being official bulletins their contents need careful scrutiny, —unpalatable facts being omitted or distorted (cf. Khaldun's statement that all records make for error).

These official records constituted the basis of official histories.

(ii) *Marathi archives* : The records of the Maratha government are now available in their entirety. V.K. Rajwade collected Marathi sources since 1898 in 21 vols.,[17] to correct Grant Duff's thousand errors. Since then bands of devoted Maratha workers have unearthed a huge mass of Marathi records and letters which are stored, and worked upon and published by the Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal, Poona.

(a) The documents in Peshwa daftar (reports of Maratha agents in Delhi and elsewhere. Valuable for dates and events). Purandare daftar and Chandrachud daftar, already referred to under archival material.

(b) Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries, Selections from . . . edited by G. C. Vad and others.

(c) *Dilli-Yethil Maratha Rajkaranen*, despatches of Hingane, the Maratha envoy at Delhi, edited by D.B. Parasnis, 2 vols. (valuable for dates and events).

(d) *Aitihasik Patren Yadi-i-waqhaire Lekha*, *Aitihasik Patra Vyavahar* and *Kavyetihas Sangraha Patren Yadi*, —all edited by Sardesai and others : *Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha*, ed. by V. V. Khare.

(e) *Sahu Roznishi*, and

(f) *Balaji Baji Rao Roznishi*, both ed. by Vad.

(iii) *Rajasthani Archives* : Letters in Rajasthani which constitute indispensable archival materials are of various kinds : stored at Jaipur and Bikaner, Kotah, Bundi, Jodhpur, Udaipur.

(a) *Kharitas*, letters of one ruler to another in and outside Rajasthan : with floral designs and decorated borders; but without much literary merit; lacking in precision of language; either undated without year and month or without Vadi or Sudi

(b) *Draft kharitas* from Jaipur to other rulers.

(c) *Parwanahs*, letters of rulers to senior officials in and outside.

(d) *Wakil reports* : reports sent by *wakils* of the state at Mughal court to the ruler (in Persian and Rajasthani).

(e) *Arzdashts* (petitions) of officials of Jaipur or outside to its rulers and draft *arzdashts* (in Persian) of Jai Singh to the Mughal emperor and princes.

(f) *Waqaya records* : personal and official activities of the Raja.

(g) *Khatut Maharajgān* in Persian and Rajasthani : letters of Maharajahs.

(h) *Khatut Ahalkārān* : letters written by one official to another.

(i) *Dastur Komwar Papers* of Amber (mostly 1718-1918) arranged caste wise and in alphabetical order, based on *taujih* records in 32 volumes, record the *dastur* or protocol or usage regarding persons of various castes, communities and social status who met the king or whom the king visited. These are dated and are highly valuable for political, social and cultural history.

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[17] Marathayanchya Itihasachi Sadhanen, edited by Rajwade, 21 vols.

(j) *Siaha Hazur* : record of daily occurrences of the Jaipur ruler (hence dated).

(k) *Iqrarnama* or *qaulnama* (agreements with different rulers).

(l) *Mazharnama* : reports of enquiry instituted by the king.

(m) *Thikana* records, i.e., records of former *jagirdars* of *Isatmarardars* of Bhinai, Masuda, Kharwa and Rao Raja of Uniara throw light on *ijaradari* system in the time of Jai Singh II (Pub. ICHR).

Assamese archives

The Ahoms, a branch of the Tai race (to which belonged the people of Burma and Siam with voluminous chronicles to their credit), introduced historiography into Assam. The Assamese historical chronicles called *Buranjis* ('a store that teaches the ignorant') dealt with their kings from 1228 to 1838 and also some countries outside. These were compiled by writers under supervision of two state officials from archival records. The state papers, letters, despatches from administrators and generals, diplomatic correspondence, daily court minutes and judicial proceedings, and maps, stored in a wing of the royal palace, were under Gandhia Barua, while the work of the numerous clerks and copyists was supervised by the Likhakar Barua. Written either on *sānchipat* or *tulāpat*, these were usually dated sometimes to the very hour and minute. The *Buranjis* had a great human interest and were not dry record of events. Though primarily and essentially secular, these came to have a religious significance, being venerated like *shastras*.

II. Chronicles or Histories Proper

Preliminary Remarks : We have to consider here the form or method and content or scope of the histories, depending on the writers' conception of history. (i) There were two forms or methods of presentation of events in Islamic historiography, chronological or annalistic,[18] favoured by the famous Muslim historian Tabari (10th century) and Miskawaini (d. 1030); and topical or analytic (by grouping events around kings, dynasties or topics), introduced by the encyclopaedic Masudi (d. c. 956) and followed by Ibn Khaldun and some others. The first was more popular than the second. Most of the historians of the Mughal period including the 18th century adopted the chronological method. In other words the 18th century historian was a chronicler *par excellence*. Quite a few writers, like the anonymous author of *Mukhtasir-ut-Tawarikh*, Jagjiwan Das (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*), however, used this topical method.

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[18] "The idea of chronological collection of events developed into a plan of complete series of annals" (Hilti, *History of Arabs*).

Again if it was of the chronicle type, was it official history or non-official history? Official histories, based on official records of different kinds were written in the Mughal empire by a special staff of royal historiographers, in government employ (up to Aurangzeb), and by a specially commissioned person (as after Aurangzeb). All other histories were non-official or private. This distinction, however, is only one of form. The non-official historians might still be 'officials' in government service, but their histories would not be official as they did not belong to the department of royal historiography but wrote on their own initiative. Since this department existed from the time of Akbar till 11th year of Aurangzeb's reign, the large majority of chronicles and histories were private (non-official), Muslim as well as Hindu.

Official histories

With the decline of the Mughal imperial power also declined some of its valuable literary and cultural paraphernalia. If the department of Royal Historiography of Akbar had been closed in the eleventh year of Aurangzeb's reign (about 1668) as a non-utilitarian body and on financial grounds and official history-writing was banned, it was hardly to be expected that it would be revived in the 18th century. After Aurangzeb's death, his last secretary, I'nāyetullah Khan Kashmiri, trained in his master's ideals in politics and religion and then 'chief of the Wazir's diwan and a personal disciple of Alamgir,' commissioned Sāqi Musta'd Khan to write a *complete* history of Aurangzeb: "You have tasted the cup of meaning, and possess sufficient ability to express the praise of Ālamgir and to discharge this task."

We do not know many facts about Sāqi Musta'd Khan. He himself has given a few details in his *Ma'asir* and in his preface to *Mirat-ul-Alam* of his patron, Bakhtawar Khan. The latter was a confidential and favourite officer of Aurangzeb, being the emperor's *darogha-i-Khas* (d. February 1685). The Khan had engaged Sāqi Musta'd Khan as his *diwan* and *munshi* and he used to show his patron's drafts of secret orders to the Emperor for correction. Sāqi Musta'd Khan assisted his patron in writing the *Mirat*, which was published after the former's death by him under imperial orders. After the Khan's death Aurangzeb appointed Sāqi successively *waqianavis* (news-writer) of Thursdays, *mushrif* (Accountant) of the *janamaz-khanah* and later of the *khawases* and then *munshi* of the *nazarat*. As a constant follower of the court for 40 years and hence as an eyewitness of many events, Sāqi Mustaid Khan was well qualified to do work. But he regarded his commission to be difficult, as the task demanded 'leaders appreciative of merit' and 'masters expert in handling works, (M.A. 69). Hence the Khan pleaded his difficulties as the task was beyond the capacity of person full of defects.' As desired by him, "the sheets of the news-letters of the court and the provinces" (i.e., the records of the imperial archives) were made available to him. On the basis of archival materials and of what he had seen and what he had learnt on enquiry from the trusty friends' or office-holders of the Aurangzeb's reign, the Khan wrote the 1st official history of the 18th century, the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* (Triumphs of Alamgir) which also gives the date of completion 1120/1708. The terms of his commission perhaps made it obligatory on him to write the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* in the 'form of annals,' i.e., according to the chronological method. His approach to history was coloured by three basic ideas : Aurangzeb's greatness ('gifted with life eternal') ; gratitude; religious outlook (cf. remarks on temple destruction and jizya).

It is very brief, a highly abridged history almost one-tenth the size of the prolix *Alamgirnamah*. With its 'dry list of official postings and promotions' (like a gazette), it is a colourless narration of facts without much comment. But it reflected the outlook of Inayetullah and his model sovereign. At times, however, he gives valuable, sometimes interesting information, especially the few that embody the author's personal observation and reflections on events or character-sketches. It is not surprising that divergent views have been expressed on its excellence.

The second official history of the 18th century is the *Bahadurshahnamah*, composed by Ni'mat Khan Ali, entitled Danishmand Khan. It deals with the first two years of the reign of Bahadurshah I (Shah Alam I, 1708-09). The author's original name was Mirza Muhammad Shirazi. Son of Hakim Fathuuddin and uncle of Hakim Muhasan Khan he belonged to a family of physicians of Shiraz but he was brought up in India. A reputed wit and satirist, he was appointed a news-writer (*Waqianavis)* by Aurangzeb and later to the *mansab* of *bakawali* with the title of Ni'amat Khan. He was the author of several works : (i) the*Jangnama* (from Aurangzeb's war with Mewar to accession of Bahadurshah; (iii) *Shahnama* or *Badshahnama*, presented to Aurangzeb, and (iv) *Bahadur Shahnamah*, incomplete official history of Bahadurshah, 1st two years (till 2nd year) who entitled him Danishmand Khan.

His style is florid, full of satire, but obscure and occasionally contains indecent jokes or jests.

III. Non-official or Private Chronicles

The question of content and scope arose with regard to non-officials or private chronicles. Did historiography deal with universal history or history of Muslim world and have an extra-Indian approach ? Or was it related to general Indian History ? If it dealt with India alone, was the approach purely dynastic, confined to a particular dynasty or several dynastics or regional, dealing with particular parts of the country together ? The old type of writing universal history or history of Muslim world, characteristing the first thousand year of Islamic historiography, had long been in fashion in Muslim India. It was Nazamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi who first introduced the new tradition of writing only on the history of India in his *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. This 16th century tradition of emphasizing on *Indian* rather than on universal history dominated historiography in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is doubtful if this shrinkage in the conspectus of the historian was a gain or loss. It may be regarded as a gain in so far as this enabled a greater emphasis on the details of Indian history than was possible in a universal or general history. But it was certainly a loss if it reflected a narrowing down of the mental horizon of the historians and the advantage of knowing what was happening elsewhere.

But the influence of the conception of universal history was very much alive even in the 18th century. The usual contents of books on it arranged topically, are creation of the world and histories of different regions of the world, empires, kingdoms and minor dynastics in pre-Islamic, Islamic and non-Islamic countries, including references to lives of learned men, sufis, divines, and tables and occasionally tables of dynastics, though the space allowed to these topics varied. Among not able examples are (i) Muhammad Ali's *Burhan-ul-Futuh*[19] ('Demonstration of Victories' 1735-6) with 18th books; (ii) Shaikh Qudratullah

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[19] The author was son of Md. Sadiq-al-Hasni-al-Nishapuri-al-Hanafi. Work dedicated to his patron Nawab Burhan-ul-Mulk Sayyid Saadat Khan of Oudh. E & D, viii. p. 25.

Sadiqi's *Jami-i-Jahan numa*[20] ('World-reflecting Mirror,' 1777 with events up to 1779), (iii) *Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai* (Four Rose Gardens of Shuja) by Har (or Hari) Charan Das[21] (1784). It begins from Brahma and treats of the four *Yugas*. The first part relates the history of Hindu kings from Judhisthir and the second with Muslim rulers from Ghori to 1773, (iv) Abdur Rahman, better known as Shah Nawaz Khan Hashimi's *Mirat-i-Aftab numa*[22] ('Sun-reflecting Mirror,') 1803, was in a sense somewhat remarkable, because it did not give only political history, but refers to meteorology, mines, stones, flora and fauna of the earth, Man (physiology, and ethics); different kinds of Prophets, Prophet Muhammad and Caliphs; Sufis, saints, philosophers, poets, artists, calligraphers and Hindu sects; kings of Arabia, Persia and of Asian dynasties, Hindu and Muslim rulers in India, Gurgāni nobles, ministers, musicians, notices of Indian music; seven grand divisions of the world, the seven seas and wonders and curiosities of different countries. In other words it combines history with geography. (v) A most interesting and instructive book on world history is *Lubbus Siyar wa Jahannuma,*[23] ('Essance of Biographies and World Reflecting Mirror; written 1793-4) by Mirza Abu Muhammad Tabrizi Ispahani (son of a Turk of Azarbaijan born and bred in Ispahan) (d. 1805). It is a small but useful book of history and travel including accounts of Europe and America arranged topically which bears unmistakable signs of influence of his contact with Europe and England. The author was born at Lucknow, where, his father, Haji Muhammad Khan (also known as Md. Beg Khan), an immigrant Turk of Azarbaijan, born and bred in Ispahan, was employed by Safdar Jang *Wazir*. He himself held high posts under Shujauddaula and Asafuddaula. Subsequently, on losing office, he came to receive subsistence from the English with whose support he visited England and Europe (1799-1803), for which he came to be known as Abu Talib Londoni. An account of his travels was translated by Major Stewart. The author claims to have read 1000 books on history and travel but none contained history of the whole world. He hoped that his abstract based on numerous sources and a compendious account of kingdoms of England and America translated by an Englishman (perhaps Jonathan Scott), would be enlarged, if not by himself, by some one else in future. He also wrote on the women of England called 'Angels of Paradise.'

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[20] The author's family came to India in the time of Prithwiraj and later moved to Katehr (Rohilkhand) and was granted by its Hindu Raja a few villages in Kabar including Mavi. E & D, iii, p. 184.

[21] The author, originally in Mir Qasim's employ, found shelter in Oudh, and was later given as allowance by Nawab Shuja-ud-daula to whom the book was dedicated. E & D, viii, p. 204.

[22] Later Prince Minister of Emperor Akbar II. E & D., viii, pp. 332-3.

[23] E & D, viii, pp. 298-300. Beale, *Miftahut Tawarikh* : contents (1) The Prophets; the events of the Caliphate; Biographies-philosophers of Greece, Europe, India and Persia and the moderns· Companions of the Prophet, religious teachers; learned men in Islam, poets; sultans, with a preface on climates and the old and the new world-Sultans in Asia, Egypt, Muslim, Hindu; kings of the west. Europe, etc.

Next to universal history comes General history of the Muslim world, relating to countries outside India as well as Muslim rulers in India. Besides those that are commonly known or available, there is a very rare work by an anonymous writer named *Kanzul Kahfuz* (Guarded Treasury). Unlike other works it begins with duties and observance of kings and ministers and then deals with the Umayyads, the Abbasids the Ghaznavides, kings of Delhi before Babur and the Timurides up to Muhammad Shah, and the various regional dynasties in Northern India and the Deccan and brief description of Hindustan. It is undated but the events are traced till 1150/1738 (though the chronogram of the title gives 1142).[24]

Most of the histories, however, related to the general history of India. Some of these related to the Mughals in particular, as in Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (1733) where the history of the Mughals and the Tartars in Central Asia has been traced to understand the career of the Indian Mughals from Babur onwards. Broadly speaking, quite a large number of histories of 18th century dealt with the general history of India over a long span of time but related to the Mughals.

Sometimes a work may appear to be a general history of India but really is a regional history, e.g., *Ma'dan-us-Sa'adat* by Sayyid Sultan Ali-ul-Husaini-ul-Musawi-us-Safavi is mainly a history of Oudh.

As regards the non-Persian sources in Indian languages, there is hardly any comprehensive historical work of a general character with an all-India or even purely North-Indian or South Indian approach. The Marathas were the inheritors of the Mughal legacy of an all-India empire. But there was no contemporary work of a general character in Marathi. The *Marathi Riyasat* of Sardesai is essentially a modern work. Among the *Assame Buranjis*, one at least dealt with Mughal Padshahs (*Padshah Buranji*).

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[24] E & D, viii, pp. 37-38.

Most historians writing in Persian, Marathi, Rajasthani, Hindi and Gurumukhi, evinced a biographical approach. This biographical aspect of historiography continued right up to the 18th century.

Further, the conception of regional and local history was also quite familiar to the writers of the period. The works written in regional languages were essentially of a regional or local interest, though some of these naturally dwelt on inter-regional relations. The mid-18th century metrical work *Maharashtrapurana* by Gangaram in Bengali is an instance in point.

But there was no hard and fast line of distinction between these categories of writings. General chronicles might contain enough of biographical material or regional history. The regional and biographical aspects were mixed up when a writer dilated on the career and achievements of a regional or local hero. Similarly biographies and memoirs might deal with contemporary history and travel diary and local history. Geographical, statistical and descriptive accounts might contain references to biographical details and contemporary history. This overlapping of fields is a striking feature of 18th century historiography.

(a) General Histories of India

A common trend among the historiographers of the 18th century was to write on 'general' histories of India. At the same time from Azam (1707) to Shah Alam II (1759-1806), practically all Mughal emperors had one non-official (or private) history or more, either singly or collectively, which may be termed 'episodic' histories of particular reigns. We will refer to a few illustrations in each class.

1. *Tarikh-i-Tazkirah-i-Chaghatai* or *Tazkirat us Salatin-i-Chaghatai* or *Tarikh-i-Mughaliyah*, by Md. Hadi Kamwar Khan (OPL.MS) —is a general history of the Timurids up to the 6th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1724). It is in two parts. The first, also called Haft *Gulshan-i-Muhammad Shahi* (wr. 1719-20), begins from the origin of the Mongols and ends with the death of Jahangir. The second or more important part covers the period from the death of Jahangir to the 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah.[25] It gives an authentic diary of day to day events and proceedings of the imperial court, —referring mostly to official appointments, transfers, etc. It is very valuable for comparison and correction of dates.

2. *The Muntakhab u'l Lubab* or *Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan* is a complete

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[25] According to R.A.S. ms; but 6th year according to A.S. ms.

history of the House of Timur, —a general history of the Mughals from Babur (1519 A. D.) to the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign (1733). It was composed 53 years after Shivaji's death. The introduction traces, in outline, the history of the Mughal and Tartars for Noah (i. e., of Central Asia) to Babur. The major part is concerned with the period from 1605-1733.[26]

Muhammad Hashim (also called Hashim 'Ali Khan), better known as Khafi Khan, belonged to a good family residing at Delhi. His father (Khwaja) Mir Khwafi, also an historian, had come from Khwaf (Khaf) near Nishapur in Khurasan and became a high officer under Murad and subsequently of Aurangzeb, who employed him in various political and military works. The Viceroy of Gujrat sent him on a mission to the English at Bombay. During the reign of Farrukhsiyar he was appointed a *diwan* by the Nizam-ul-Mulk and came to be called *Nizam-ul-Mulki.* He used the information derived from official records (open to few but to which he had access) admirably. But he wrote from the official point of view : He describes Shivaji as a rebel against the empire builder and as the murderer of Afzal Khan Bijapuri. The chronogram of Shivaji's death was "*Kafir ba jahannam raft.*" Nevertheless he praised Shivaji's chivalry very highly and observed that the Maratha leader strictly prohibited harm to "Mosques, the Book of God, or Women." This was long acclaimed as "one of the best and most impartial histories" of the period. Sri Ram Sharma has, however, shown that Khafi Khan was guitty of plagiarism and dubs him as a 'Prince of Plagyrists '

3. *Mirat-i-Waridat* or *Tarikh-i-Chaghatai,* or *Tarikh-i-Md. Shahi,* by Md. Shafi'-i-Teherani 'Warid' is an important general history beginning from Babur and ending in 1734, a few years before the invasion of Nadir Shah. But it is lacking in chronological order.[27]

4. Khushhal Chand (or Rai), *munshi* in Diwani office at Delhi (1741), was the author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi* or *Nadir-uz-Zamani,* mostly a compilation from Aurangzeb up to 17th year of Md. Shah's reign 1734-6, with useful details about his administration, vol. I covers 1679-1719.

5. *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* by Yahya Khan. It is a brief general history up to 1149/1736-37, but very brief for later Mughal rulers (1712-36).

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[26] See later discussion.

[27] Muhammad Shah's prohibition of history-writing E & D. viii , pp. 21-2.

6. *Ahwal-i-Khawaqin* by Md. Qasim Aurangabadi, history of Aurangzeb's successors up to 1151/1738-9, 2 vols.

7. The *Tarikh-i-Hind* by Rustam Ali Shahabadi, son of Muhammad Khalil Shahabadi (wr. 1154/1741-2) begins from Creation, Hindu Rajas, early Timurides and later Timurides but deals mainly with Muhammad Shah's reign and has notes on some holy and learned persons, and comes up to 1153/1740. The author is biased against Nizam-ul-Mulk, as he sought to weaken the power of his patron, Dost Muhammad Khan Rohilla of Bhopal.

8. The most popular and best known among the contemporary works is the *Siyār-ul-Mutākhkharian* (*View of Modern Times*) by Sayyid Ghulam Husain (? Haidar) Tabatabai of Patna (written 1782). Born in 1727-28 the distinguished author was descended from a cultured and educated Sayyid family. His father, Hidayat Ali Khan, held the government of Bihar during the rule of Alivardi as the deputy of his nephew Haibat Jang. Later he became the *faujdar* of Sonipat and Panipat during Md. Shah's reign. He accompanied Shah Alam during the latter's flight from Delhi to escape the oppression of Ghaziuddin Khan as the former *Mir Bakhshi* or chief paymaster. He secured for his eldest son, Ghulam Husain, the post of *Mir Munshi* or chief secretary and for his second son, Fakhruddaula, that of *Diwan-i-tan* or overseer of the household. Subsequently Hidayat Ali gave up post and retired to his *jagir* in Bihar, where he died soon after Mir Qasim's deposition. Ghulam Husain went to Murshidabad in 1732-33. He was at Patna with Alivardi from 1733 to 1743-44. He was subsequently employed as tutor to Shaukat Jang, 1749 (at Purnea). After the latter's fall he went to Benares. He regained his influence and took part in political affairs and military campaigns of the time. He represented Mir Qasim with the Company in Calcutta but was removed for suspected attachment to the latter. Subsequently he was employed by the latter in different assignments, served General Goddard on many occasions and was favoured by him. Living far away in the eastern regions, he derived information from his father and uncles serving in Delhi and so the portions dealing with the Mughals and Oudh are useful. He has both been condemned and eulogised at the same time. To understand this we have to analyse the contents of the work. It is in two volumes.

Vol. I : General description of Hindustan—provinces, cities, products and people; summary of old history derived from Sanskrit works, translated by Faizi and others : rise of Muhammadan power and history up to Aurangzeb's death. This is generally indentical with Sujan Rai's *Khulasat* and hence condemned by Lees for plagiarism. But he was in good company of many of his predecessors in and outside India.

Vol. II : The value of the book lies in this volume, which is more famous than the first. The author shows here his 'true mettle' and critical spirit. This is a very important general history of India 1707-82 with a specially detailed account of Bengal and Oudh affairs from 1738. His claim (in the brief preface) that nobody wrote "an account of the nobles of Hind" after Aurangzeb's death is of course exaggerated. It contains a critical account not only of the power of the English in Bengal but also of the government and policies of the East India Company.[28] He has praised the English without any intention of flattery and criticised them occasionally without any fear. He shows "a freedom of spirit and a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer and which justly entitles him to preeminence among Muhammadan historians." He is the main source of English historians on 18th century India, viz., James Mill (*History of India*), Macaulay (on Clive). General Briggs holds that the *Siyar* is not in any way inferior to the historical memoirs of Europe (e.g. The Duc de Sully, Lord Clarendon or Bishop Burnet quoted, *ibid.*).

9. *Tarikh-i-Ali* by Muhammad Saleh Qudrat (1707-61) gives interesting information regarding the early life and career of the Sayyid Brothers (1785). OPL. MS.

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[28] It was translated into English by Raymond, a French convert to Islam (Haji Mustafa), a classical scholar (French, Italian, Turkish, Persian and Hindustani), whose history is not wellknown (3 vols., Cal., 1789). Another (incomplete) translation is by J. Briggs (only one-sixth in one vol., 1832). It was dedicated by 'Nota Manus' to Warren Hastings. The Bengal portion was translated in Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. 2. The first volume was edited by Hakim Abdul Majid in 1836 at Calcutta. On account of its prolixity it was abridged by Farzand Ali Khan of Monghyr (in *Malakhkhas-ut-Tawarikh*) from Timur to 1781. Another abridgment was by Maulavi Abdul Karim, Head master of the Persian office (Printed 1827) as *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*, E & D., viii, p 199. The title of the book is given differently by its two translators. Briggs calls it *Siyarul Mutakhkharin* (or Manners of the Moderners) while a French translator and Cal. editor terms it *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin* (*View of Modern Times*). E & D. viii, pp. 194-8; see Cambray edn. intro.

10. *Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai* by Harcharan Das (ms.) is a very useful general history of India from the earliest times to the date of compilation (1201/1787) with special references to Delhi and its neighbourhood, and Oudh. Among the 18th century historiographers Harcharan (Haricharan) Das is, in a sense, remarkable, if not for the excellence of his work, at least for his detailed communication of his personal history, and his family which was a very rare thing then. His great-grandfather, Sagar Mal, was the *Chaudhari* and *Qanungo* of Mirāt (Meerut) pargana in Delhi province. He also mentions the names of his father and grandfather, Udai Raj and Mukand Rai. Harcharan accompanied his master, Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal and the latter's daughter Najbun-nisa Mhānam (alias Bibi Khānam) to Oudh. After Mir Qasim's death, Das was retained by his daughter and her grandson Husain Ali Khan. Later he lost his employment. But instead of idling away his time he began to study histories and biographical accounts of ancient rulers, and was liberally encouraged by Ibrahim 'Ali Khan (alias Mirza Khairati), a learned man and physician of Emperor Ahmad Shah and a near relation of the late Nawab Mir Qasim, who supplied him with books on history. Nawab Shujaud-daulah granted him some allowance for 17 years till 1770. Its stoppage by Beni Bahadur caused him pecuniary distress. Later it was restored with arrears through Bibi Khānam. Out of gratitude to the Nawab he named his book *Chahar Gulzar Shujai* ('The Four Rose Gardens of Shuja') and dedicated it to him, though it consists of five books *chamans* ('parterres') because four is a favourite number. The fifth book (Kali Yuga) is divided into two parts : the Hindu rajas and the history of the Muslims up to the author's 80th year/25th year of Shah Alam's reign (635 years). The treatment is topical (books, parts and sections).

11. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* by Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari of Panipat. He was son of Hidayatullah Khan, son of Shams-ud-Daula Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, a high officer under Farrukhsiyar, being governor of Shahjahanabad about the time of Nadir Shah's invasion during the reign of Muhammad Shah. Ansari himself was a nephew of Shakir Khan Panipati and was *darogha* of the *faujdari* 'Adalat of Tirhut and Hajipur.' Written in 1812 and named after Nawab Muhammad Khan Mazaffar Jang of Bengal, it is one of the most accurate general histories of India from Muhammadan rulers up to the death of Asafuddaulah, 1797. Though it is sketchy up to Akbar, it supplies useful materials for Abdali's invasions (OPL and Asafiya mss.). It was the chief source of Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire.*

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12. *Ibratnamah* (Book of Warning), written in 1806 by Faqir Khairuddin Muhammad Allahabadi (1751-d.c. 1827), *munshi* of James Anderson, Resident at Sindhia's court at Delhi, 1783-4. It is so called because of the gruesome career of Ghulam Qadir. It is practically a history of the reigns of Alamgir II and Shah Alam, for the earlier period from Timur to Ahmad Shah are summarily treated. During the latter part of his life he lived in Jaunpur as a British pensioner for helping Anderson in negotiations with the Marathas. Leaving Anderson for illness, he subsequently became a high officer of Prince Jahandar Shah, son of Shah Alam II and an eyewitness of the 'chequered career and troubled times' of Shah Alam II (Rieu). Later still he retired to Lucknow and came to be favoured by Nawab Saadat Ali whom he praises. The work gives minute and graphic details of the reign of Shah Alam II from 12th regnal year in simple language. As the author was well acquainted with the affairs of the Sindhia, his well written memoirs are invaluable—'priceless,' according to Sarkar.[29]

(b) Episodic histories of particular reigns

But the decline in the monarchy, with its inevitable consequence of short reigns and disintegration of the empire, was destined to affect the trend of history-writing. Several histories now written dealt with mere episodes, limited by time and space, i. e., these did not extend over long periods and did not cover India as a whole.

Thus one of the common themes was to treat of the struggles among the successive rivals for the Delhi throne and of the short reigns of the emperors. Farrukhsiyar's personality was a favourite theme of the writers. These also supply annalistic and biographical accounts of these and doings of ministers. Their writers were mostly contemporaries; some were even eye-witnesses and hence their narrative accounts were authentic and valuable. But at times these reflect the party struggles of the period, when these were written by partisans (e. g., Md. Qasim Lahori, *Ibratnamah*). But Mirza Md. *(Ibratnamah)* was impartial (1713-9). To mention a few instances only :

1. and 2. An account of Azam's reign (15 March, 1707 to 19 June, 1708) has been left by Kamraj, son of Nain Sukh (Singh) of Phaphund, 36 miles east of Etawah in U. P. in *A'zam-ul-Harb*. He also wrote *Ibratnamah*, a general account of political history from 1707-19. Both these works are of great value as they supply authentic information

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[29] E. D. Ross (*JRAS*, 1902) dwells on the life and works of the author. He also wrote *History of Jaunpur* (tr. by Major Pogson and the *Balwantnama*. (ED., viii.)

about contemporary politics.

3. A detailed, eye-witness's account of struggle for the throne among Bahadur Shah's sons and between Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar (1713-19) has been left by Nuruddin Faruqi Balkhi in *Jahandar-namah*. (1127/1715 or 1131/1718-19.)

4. Almost the same ground was covered by Muhammad Mun'im Ja'farabadi in his *Farrukhnamah*, a detailed account of the war of succession among the sons of Bahadur Shah, the reign of Jahandar Shah and the accession of Farrukhsiyar.

5. The personality of Farrukhsiyar,—his accession to the throne, i.e., of his conflicts with Jahandar Shah and his reign, attracted the attention of several writers. While Nimat Khan Ali gave an account of the conflict between Farrukhsiyar and Jahandar Shah in his *Jangnamah*, a Hindu poet, Sridhar (? Muralidhar), wrote about this conflict also in his poem also called *Jangnamah*.

6. A graphic and complete account of circumstances leading to the accession of Farrukhsiyar is given by Mir Muhammad Ahsan Ijād in *Farrukhsiyar-namah*. He was the pupil of Mirza Bedil and a *mansabdar* of 300 and acted for sometime as the *faujdar* of Etawah. The same author gives an account of the minority of Farrukhsiyar and the first four years of his reign in *Tarikh-i-Farrukhsiyar*.

7. A good contemporary account of the Mughal empire during the period 1707-13, with particular reference to the beginning of the reign of Farrukhsiyar has been left in *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan* (also called *Tazkirah-i-Iradat Khan*, written 1714) by Mubarakullah *alias* Iradat Khan Waza (aged 64), a scion of an exalted noble family with a tradition of high government service from Jahangir onwards. His grandfather was Mir Bakhshi of Jahangir ; his father held high offices under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The author himself was a trusted official of Aurangzeb as *faujdar* of some places, Jagna, Aurangabad and Mandu and also under his successors, rising under Bahadur Shah to the posts of Government of the Doab, of commander of Imtiyaz-garh (Adoni fort) and governor of Ahsanabad (Gulbarga) and *qiladar* and *faujdar* of Mandu and was a friend of Muazzam Khan Wazir. He was also a poet.[30]

8. Mirza Muhammad, son of Mu'tamad Khan was an eye-witness of events recorded in his *Ibratnamah* (OPL. ms.). He was an impartial

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[30] It has been rendered into English by Jonathan Scott first separately, later in *History of the Deccan*, 2 vols., 1794 (E & D., vii. pp. 534-64).

writer, without any leanings towards or bias against the Sayyid brothers, Farrukhsiyar and other nobles during the struggle for power 1713-19.

9. The *Ibratnamah* (Book of Warning) by Muhammad Harisi Mirza brings the story up to the deposition of Farrukhsiyar and up to 1721.

The comparatively long reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-48) and Shah Alam II's chequered life of turmoils and travails (1759-1806) also attracted several writers, Muslim and Hindu. Several historians have taken up as their theme the long reign of Muhammab Shah. Some of their works belong to the category of "general history."

(i) To this class belongs Sayyid Muhammad Qasim Lahori (also known as Muhammad Qasim 'Ibrat' Husain of Lahore), a servant of Husain Ali. He gives an account of the Timurides from Aurangzeb's death up to the fall of the Sayyids (death of Syed Abdullah) in 1135/1722-23 in his *Ibratnamah* (Book of Warning) also called *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi.* Being in the service of Husain Ali Khan, he was naturally partisan of the Sayyid brothers. One copy brings the story up to 1736.[31] Another version is *Ibrat Maqal* up to the 3rd year of Muhammad Shah's reign excluding the pro-Sayyid portions.

(ii) An anonymous author gave a brief account of events from the fall of the Sayyids to the 14th regnal year of Muhammad Shah in his *Sahifa-i-iqbal* with incidental like marrigae of Md. Shah, riot of Shop-Sellers and also royal reception to Persian Embassy.

(iii) *Shahnama Munawwar Kalām* of Shivdas Lakhnavi (wr. 1204/1794) is a detailed account of the reign of Farrukhsiyar and the first four years of Muhammad Shah with a grafic picture of daily routine and court life. It is unique in supplying 124 *Waqāi* (occurrence) and 42 official letters including 22 *farmans.* It also contains much biografical and episodic matter. It is, however, not a connected history (Riev) and is not chronologically or topically arranged. But it has a value of its own and supplies new information, including military and even social and cultural matters.[32]

(iv) Mirza Md. Bakhsh "Ashu'b," *Tarihh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh-siyar wa Julus-i-Md. Shahi.* (Rieu. iii, p. 943., Or. 1832).

The author was foster-brother of Md. Shah and wrote it 1196/1782. It describes the fall of Farrukhsiyar and the reign of Muhammad Shah up to 1747 (for which it gives valuable details). It gives a detailed account of Persian missions at Delhi with copies of letters between the two courts, it is particularly valuable, but the chronology is defective.

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[31] E&D, vii, p. 569.

[32] S. H. Askari, introduction, Tr. *Shahnama Munawwar Katam.*

(v) The same author has another work to his credit, *Tarikh-i-Kharoj-i-Nadir Shah-ba-Hindustan* alias *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, vol. ii (1785), which gives an elaborate account of the invasion of Nadir Shah and the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani (I. O. L. ms; J. Sarkar colln. National Library).

(vi) Khwajah Abdul Karim Kashmiri gives in his *Bayan-i-Waqai* the history from Muhammad Shah to Ahmad Shah including a very detailed account of the invasion of Nadir Shah, his activities in Delhi and the Punjab, and also the first campaign of the Abdali, 1166/1752.[33]

(vii) For the reigns of Ahmad Shah (1748-54) and Alamgir II (1754-59) we have a few works. The author of *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* preferred to remain anonymous. But he was an eye-witness, "present at all times and saw with his own eyes the utter misery of Emperor Ahmad Shah and wept." He has given us the most detailed and accurate contemporary history of the Shah's reign (1748, 6 months before his deposition in 1754). It contains useful details of the first three invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

(viii) The official history of the reign of Alamgir II *(Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani)*, written by an anonymous author, is the best contemporary work, full of details not only of the Emperor's reign but also of the invasions of the Durrani invader.

(ix) A general contemporary history of the Mughal empire from Bahadur Shah to Panipat (1761), with details of some events of the Punjab has been given in *Tarikh-i-Ali* by Muhammad Saleh Qudrat. It was written in December 1785 for James Browne (O.P.L.).

The *Shah Ālamnamah* or the life of Emperor Shah Alam II, was composed by Mughal author, Ghulam 'Ali Khan of Lahore s/o Bhikari Khan (murdered in 1758 by Mughlani Begam). The author was formerly in the service of Prince Mirza Jawan Bhakht Bahadur Shah. Though it gives the date of Shah 'Alam's death, the work stops with his blinding in 1788 (by G. Qadir). It is a voluminous work in 3 vols. Only its first volume (upto 1761) has been printed by the Asiatic Society. The other two volumes are in mss. still (I.O.L. ms. Sarkar colln. Nat. Lib.). This was used by Francklin.

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[33] English tr. by Gladwin (Memoirs of Khojeh Abdul Karim, Cal., 1788) and by Lt. H. G. Pritchard for Sir Henry Elliot (Ms. in Br. Mus.). The Aligarh ms. traces the events up to 1793.

Munna Lal (or Manu Lal), son of Bahadur Singh Munshi, also wrote of this luckless Emperor (*Tarikh-i-Shah Alam*) upto 24th year in 1811. It was used by Col. Francklin for his life of Shah Alam.[34]

Both these histories of Shah Alam have now become superfluous after the discovery and rescue of the extremely valuable anonymous ms., in Patna by Jadunath Sarkar, which he named, *Delhi Chronicle*. It is now called *Waqāi Shah 'Ālam Sānī*. It contains a detailed chronology or diary of events at Delhi and reports during the 'Great Anarchy' (1738-98), with some missing leaves, Sarkar rates it very high and compares it with the old *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 'artless truthfulness, exclusion of emotion or comment and accuracy of record."[35] It is extremely valuable for dates and events.

These works also deal with accounts of wazirs and ministers, with biographical touches. Thus the early life and career of the Sayyid brothers are covered by Muhammad Saleh (*Tarikh-i-Ali)*. The career and achievements of Khan-i-Dauran Bakhashi are described in the *Risala-i-Muhammad Shah-wa-Khan-i-Dauran* (eulogistic) by an anonymous author.

These also deal with the foreign invaders and their campaigns, with the Maratha push to the north, the Afghan-Maratha and the Afghan-Sikh struggles, of founders of independent principalities and of provincial histories. In other words while some historiographers of the period, had a wide sweep, the horizon of others was limited. The letters were written not from a peak but standing on the ground, cruising along the coast but not flying like a bird, as it were.

Marathi

The Marathi chronicles or *Bakhars*, when composed later than the events recorded, are generally not rated high by some scholars. Rejecting the *Bakhars*, as later gossipy fabrications 'no better than opium-eaters tales,' Jadunath, however, finds in *Bhau Sahibanchi Bakhar* some 'true traditions as proved by authentic records and some apparently true but unsupported statements and warns that it should not be rejected outright but used critically. In fact the *Bakhars* cannot be completely dispensed with and have to be used critically. Shejwalkar regards *Bhau Sahibanchi Bakhar* and Shrimant *Bhau Sahib-Yanchi Kaifiyat*, as 'the most important sources' of the battle of Panipat in Marathi. Their authors, though unknown, wrote nearer the battle than Kashiraj. Krishnaji Shyam Rao, author of the first, lived at Indraprastha near Delhi and knew Hindi and was familiar with the affairs of the Rajputs, Jats and Ruhelas (ed. by Sankar Narayan Johi, 1872).

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[34] E & D, viii, p. 393.

[35] Proceedings of *IHRC*, vol. 3, 1921.

Rajasthani

The art of writing comprehensive historical chronicles in prose in Rajasthani or Khyāts (Khyātas), written by trained officials, were inspired by the Mughal historiography of Akbar's reign. The model of Muhnot Nainsi's 'khyat' (1650-66) or prose dynastic history continued but poetic histories came to be composed in 18th and 19th centuries. We have a few khyats of 18th century: *Jaipur khyat*(Ms., Purohit Hari Narayan colln.), *Jodhpur khyat* (Ms., G.H. Ojha's colln.), *Maharaja Ajit Singhji ri khyat* (MS., R.A. Bikaner). *Khyat* by Bankidas (R.O.R.I., Jaipur, 1956) and by Dayaldas (Anup Singh, Library, Bikaner).

Assamese

The Assamese had, besides official *buranjis*, also private *buranjis* or chronicles. These were written at the instance of nobles. Sometimes others had copies made of these for their own families. The knowledge of *buranjis* came to be regarded as a 'indispensable qualifications of an Assamese gentlemen, (Grieson).

It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of even the most important. *Buranjis* here, as their numbers are legion. Reference must, however, be made to an 18th century Assamese chronicle of Tripura, known as *Tripura Deser Katha* or *Tripura Buranji*, written in Saka 1646/1724 by two Assamese scholars, Ratna Kundali Sharma and Arjundas Bairagi, who served as envoys of Ahom government in Tripura on three diplomatic missions, 1710-15 during the reign of Rudra Singha of Assam.[36]

Gurumukhi :

There is no mention of Gurumukhi sources in Irvine's *Later Mughals*, ed. by J. Sarkar, vol. I. The achievements of the Sikhs were, of course, known and communicated orally by the seniors to the younger genrations, though these oral traditional histories were entirely subject to additions or alterations by the reciter. But the Sikhs were so preoccupied in the 18th century with their struggles at first for survival then for supremacy that their histories could not be recorded. The *shamshir* (sword) was a much stronger and surer supporter of rights than *siahi* or written records. This explains why the Sikhs had no contemporary written history in 18th century. Such a history came to be written late in 19th century like *Panth Prakash* (by Gyan Singh) the *Suraj Prakash*, recording parochial traditions. More dependable is the comparatively earlier *Prachin Panth Prakash* [by Ratan Singh Bhangoo]. As Malcolm says "In every research into the general history of mankind, it is of the essential importance to hear what the nation has to say of itself."

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[36] See S. K. Bhuyan, *Studies in Literature of Assam*, pp. 130-55.

Urdu :

Shamshir-i-Khalsa by Gyani Gyan Singh, and Babu Rajindar Singh, Litho, Sialkot, 1891.

4. **Biographical literature** :

Biography was one of the earliest forms of historical writing in Islamic historiography : life of the Prophet : *maghazi* (books of wars and conquests) : *ansāb* (genealogies) ; and *tabaqāt* (classified) sketches of indvidual Islamic heroes) : and specially biographical dictionaries.

The framework of history is one of thought, that of biography is one of narration of natural or biological process. Personal or ordinary biography revolves round the life-story of an individual. Historical biography is one which, revolving round a person or persons, transcends the narrow limits of mere historical evolution, and in a sense partakes of the character of true history and even of universal history, involving due research, interpretation and historical thought processes. The concept of historical biography in the west is said to have grown in the age of the Italian Renaissance. But in olden times biography was intimately connected with contemporary history and culture. The 'great man' theory of historical interpretation, though controversial, has been very popular throughout the ages—in Greeco-Roman, medieval European and medieval Muslim historiography. It would thus be difficult to draw a hard and fast line of division between history and biography, between chronicles and biograpical literature of the period, the former dealing with the life and work of some prominent personality. Naturally one may come across several work which may belong to more than one category,—chronicle, biography and regional history. Some amount of overlapping may thus arise in most illustrations given below. Thus the histories dealing with the Emperors like Bahadur Shah, Azim, Jahandar, Farrukhsiyar,[37] Muhammad Shah,[38] Ahmad Shah,[39] Alamgir II, Shah Alam II may also be regarded as constituting biographical works and need not be repeated here.

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[37] *Bahadur Shahnamah.*

[38] *Azam-ul-harb* by Kamraj.

[39] *Jahandarnamah* by Nuruddin Faruqi : *Tarikh-i-Ali* of Md. Saleh; *Jangnamah* of Sridhar (Muralidhar), *Tarikh-i-Farrukhsiyar* of Md. Ahsan Ijad ; *Tarikh-i-Hind* by Rustam Ali.

The eighteenth century provides no example of royal autobiographies, as of Timur, Babur and Jahangir. A work on the history of the Sikhs entitled (*Haqiqat-i-Bina-o-Uruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan*) has been wrongly attributed to Timur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Abdali. It refers to the conquest of Multan from the Bhangi *misl* of the Sikhs by him.

There were, however, several instances of private biographies, memoirs of nobles and biographical dictionaries. Several writers and nobles narrated their own experiences, impressions or accounts of their contemporaries. Such works may either be eulogistic or prejudiced.

We have a useful work about the career and achievements of Khan-i-Dauran the imperial *Bakhshi* (d. 1738) by an anonymous writer (in *Risala-i-Muhammad Shah wa Khan-i-Dauran*). But it has exaggerated his qualities.

For Nadir Shah we have *Tarik-i-Jahan Kusha-i-Nadiri* or *Nadir-namah* by his famous biographer, Mirza Muhammad Mahdi Ali Khan (bin Md. Nasir Astarabadi), his confidential secretary, who was present in all the military campaigns of his master (wr. 1758, eleven years after the death of Nadir.[40] It deals with the Shah's wars and conquests. It is eulogistic and the style is difficult,—also *Durra-i-Nadira* (by Do contemporary of Abdali).

An anonymous author has dealt mainly with the invasion of Nadir Shah in *Hadisa-i-Nadir Shah* (Asafiya, Ms.).

The Durrani invader, Ahmad Shah, who succeeded to the inheritance of Nadir Shah and invaded India several times, attracted the attention of several contemporary writers in Afghanistan, Persia and India. Abul Hasan ibn Muhammad Amin Gulistani, who was in Nadir's service, wrote a history of Shah Rukh Mirza, grandson of Nadir, in *Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh pas az Nadir* (wr. 1782),[41] which dealt also with Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Imam-ud-din al-Husaini dealt with Durrani history from Ahmad Shah to 1798 (when Zaman Shah was the ruler of Afghanistan) in his *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi* also called *Tarik-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*. *Mārka*

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[40] Bombay, 1293/1875-6.

[41] It was edited by Oskar Mann, Leiden, 1896 and partially translated by J. Sarkar in *Modern Review*, vol. 45 (1929). See Ganda Singh. Ahmad Shah Durrani, 426.

-*i-Shahan-i-Durrania, Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* (1213/1798).[42] This biography is not wholly reliable.

An account of the rise and progress of the Durrani Shah is given in *Uruj-o-Khuruj-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani* (c. 1780), ms. in John Rylands Library Manchester (Lindesiana).

A contemporary valuable account of the Abdali's first invasion is given in *Bayān-i-Waqai* by Abdul Kaim Kashmiri (1752-3), already described.

Ghulam Husain (poetically Samin, Sadiqi, Farshuri, Bilgrami), an Arab born about 1716-17, traced his descent to Caliph Abu Bakr and belonged to a family of hereditary *qazis* for 25 generations of Bilgrim in Hardoi district, wrote his account of the fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah (*Halat-i-Amdan-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani dar Hindustan*, 1169/1755-56) as an eye witness. As he was then present in the invader's camp near Agra and Mathura, he had personal knowledge of many events. So he could give first hand account of these. It is of considerable historical value. It clears up many points and gives new details about Mughlani Begum. During the invasion of 1759-60, he was in the service of Nawab Sadullah Khan, son of Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela. In 1782-3 he had audience of Captain Jonathan Scott.[43]

Punjab : Among the personalities who influenced the history of the Punjab during the first half of the 18th century were the opportunist Adina Beg Khan who is said to have fanned the beard of the Abdali and dusted the road of the Marathas and the steadfast Punjab Governor, Muin-ul-mulk or Mir Mannu. We have an anonymous biography of Adina in *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, and a work on Muin's achievements in *Zafarnamah-i-Muin-ul-Mulk* by Ghulam Muhiuddin (1749).[44]

Oudh : Muhammad Ali, son of Md. Sadiq al Hasn ali Nishapuri al Hanafi, dedicated *Burhan-ul-Futuh* (Demonstration of Victories) to Saādat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk of Oudh. It is useful for dates but very brief : it is a panegyric on his patron, who alone in the author's opinion, was 'capable of competing with the Marathas' (1148/1736-6). The arrangement is topical. A few years later the author made some changes (additions or omissions) in it with a better-known name *Mirāt us Safā*, dedicating it to a Sunni.

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[42] Mss. OPL : AS : Sarkar Collection, National Library.

[43] English Translation by W. Irvine, *Ind. Ant.* 1907, pp. 10-18, 43-51, 55-70. (Another undated copy entitled *Tarikh-i-Amdan* ... date of copy 1842 also in Rampur State Library.)

[44] See section on Regional Histories.

Ghazi-ud-din Imād-ul-Mulk, Wazir of Emperor Ahmad Shah, and the Rohilla Najib-ud-daulah, the plenipotentiary of the Abdali, who played important roles in mid-18th century, naturally became the heroes of some authors, who named their works after them. But these really tell of the tangled tale of the moribund Mughal oak, the activities of some of the wood-cutters,—the Marathas, the Abdali, Shujauddaula. These are: *Tazkirah-i-Imād ul Mulk* by an anonymous author; *Imād us Saadat* by Sayyid (Mir) Ghulam Ali Khan Naqvi (c. 1807-08); *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulah* by Sayyid Nur-ud-din Hasan, a personal servant of Imād (c. 1773); *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah wa Ali Muhammad Khan wa Donde Khan* by Behari Lal bin Badri Das, a *munshi* of Najib; *Chahār Gulzār-i-Shujāi* by Sri Harcharan Das, dedicated to Shuja-ud-daula (1787).

The Rohilla Hafiz Rahmat Khan, who played a distinguished role for 30 years in Indian history has been sought to be immortalized in two biographies—one by his son, Nawab Md. Mustajab Khan Bahadur (*Gulistan-i- Rahmat, 1792*); and another by grandson (nephew of Mustajab), Md. Sa'd Yar Khan (*Gul-i-Rahmat*).[45]

Bengal : Nawab Alivardi Khan has two biographies, one of which is long and valuable and the other short, incomplete and panegyrical. The first one, *Tarikh-i-Alivardi Khan* or *Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan* or *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jangi* (c. 1767) by Yusuf Ali, a relation and intimate friend of the Nawab and virtually a memoir on the history of Bengal and was the basis of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin* of the Patna historian. The other is *Waqai-i-Fath Bangalah* or *Waqai-i-Mahabat Jang* by Md. Wafa.[46]

Haidarabad : The famous general and statesman, Qamruddin, the future Nizam-ul-mulk, founder of the Hyderabad State (1671-1748) dominated the history of the Mughal empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. The year 1724 marked a turning point in his career when he declared independence.[47] Several contemporaries in intimate touch with him left valuable first-hand biographical accounts of him. A few among these are noted below.

A complete account of the life and achievements of the First

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[45] *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* is abridged and trans. by Sir Charles Elliot Life ... 1831; E. & D. viii. This differs from Hamilton's History of the Rohillas, as it is based on the evidence of friends of Oudh, hostile to Rahmat.

[46] See section on Regional Histories.

[47] For his career before 1724 the sources mentioned by Irvine (*Later Mughals*) and J. Sarkar (in *CHI*, iv) may be consulted with profit.

Nizam has been left by Lala Mansaram. For four generations his family had been closely associated with the Nizam's family. His grandfather Balkrishna and father Bhavani Das had served, respectively, the grandfather (Khwaja Abid Khan) and father (Ghaziuddin Khan Firuz Jang) of the Nizam. Mansaram himself was a secretary in the office of the *Sadr* of the Nizam and had the privilege of being present beside the dying Nizam, along with Nasir Jang and the chief *Sadr*, Mansaram also served Nizam Ali Khan for nearly two decades before retiring. His son, Laksmi Narayan Shafiq Aurangabadi, was a secretary to Alijah, eldest son of the Nizam, Nizam Ali Khan.

Mansaram wrote two works in Persian: the *Risala-i-Darbar-i-Asafia* (1761), dealing with the administrative regulations of the Nizam, which has been published : and the *Ma'asir-i-Nizami* (1200/1784-85, Asafia, MS.). The latter is essentially a very valuable biography of the First Nizam, prefaced by a brief reference to the lives of his father and grandfather. It is a simple, matter-of-fact narrative, without literary embellishments, but the treatment is some-what cursory. We read of his conflict with the Sayyid Brothers, fight with Mubariz Khan, Nadir's sack of Delhi and rebellion of Nasir Jang. But there is hardly any reference to his discomfitures, e.g., Husain Ali-Maratha pact regarding *Chauth* and *Sardesmukhi*, Nixam's relations with the Marathas; he is completely silent on Palkhed (1728) and the Bhopal conflict (1737-38) is only touched upon. There are some differences between the two works of his own regarding the Nizam's testament and with other versions of it. On the other hand Mansaram has noted 94 anecdotes about the Nizam which throw light on his character and diplomacy. He wrote the *Ma'asir* when Nizam Ali Khan was the Nizam and so his remarks about Nasir Jang (re : alleged poisoning) made for being on the safe side, must be taken with great caution.

Another contemporary work, the *Tarikh-i-Fathiyya* was written in 1167/1754 by Yusuf Muhammad Khan Turani (d. 1757), dealing with the activities of the Nizam from 1719 and also with the history of the Decan from 1720-54. The author was associated with the Nizam since 1720 and served him in different capacities,—as head of his attendants and director of armoury, Governor of Bijapur and *havaldar* of Parenda fort. But he made only incidental references to his relations with the Marathas (very brief re : Palkhed and none at all to Bhopal. He was prone to eulogise his master's achievemennts and gloss over reverses. He has given short biographical notices of chief persons in Nizam's service and in the Mughal court and prominent

Muslim saints in the Deccan.

Other contemporary accounts of the Nizam's career after 1724 were by three writers in his service, Khafi Khan, his *diwan* (1713-15), in the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*; by Shah Nawaz Khan, Dewan of Berar under the Nizam, later on the Prime Minister of Nasir Jung (1747-49) and of Salabat Jung (1753-57) in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* : and by Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, who was in very close contact with the Nizam during 1737-48, in his *Khazanah-i-Amira* (wr. 1763).[48]

Then there are biographies (or histories) of poets, saints and others. It is interesting to note that the lives of poets also give short notices of some contemporary distinguished historical personages, because a few of them,—unknown to many of us—were not only politicians and statesmen but also poets. Two instances are noted below :

(i) *Khazanah-i-Amira* (written 1763-68) by Ghulam Ali Khan Azad Bilgrami gives information about emperors Alamgir II, Shah Allam II, and nobles like the First Nizam, Nasir Jang, Safdar Jang, Imad-ul-mulk and so incidentally about the Marathas. It also refer to the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali (who was a poet) up to 1762. It is thus a valuable contemporary work, though historical accuracy is not always expected from one, who was primarily. a poet, and not a historian.[49]

The author was born on 18th June, 1704, at Bilgram in Uttar Pradesh. He was a Persian and Arabic scholar-poet. In 1741 he settled at Aurangabad in the Deccan and had close associations with Nizam-ul-Mulk and his son Nasir Jung. The latter, on becoming the Nazam, kept him in his company and had his writings corrected by the latter. Naturally he played an important role in the Deccan politics for nearly 40 years till his death in 1785. He wrote anthologies of Persian poetry, biographies of Persian poets and an account of Sufi saints.

Some of his observations are interesting. The Marathas were so-called as they inhabited the region of Devgiri and around (called Marhat). "These people (Marathas and Deccani Brahmans) have a strange character. Wherever they become dominant they deprive the people of that area of means of subsistence and appropriate them for themselves...With all the land that Balaji had possessed... his food is only *Bajra* and *Jowar*. He does not like wheat. He uses pulses and green vegetables. The real profession of these Brahmans is begging ...It has been well said by a poet that when beggars become kings they reduce the world to beggary. Bilgrami finds the explanation of the "dry and stiff nature" of the Marathas in their food—pulses, oils and chillies (which are put in every article of diet). He also attributes the growing use of hot chillies in Northern India to the Maratha expansions there for nearly two decades. He attributes the decline of the Muslims to their love of ease and luxury, lack of exertion and failure to adopt the guerrilla tactics of the Marathas. His narrow mental outlook is betrayed by his comment that Ibrahim Khan Gardi was justly punished at Panipat for joining the Marathas and by his lament at the defeat of the Nizam at the battle of Udgir. He is silent on some instances of the defeat of Muslims by the Marathas.

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[48] For the Deccan see P. S. Madhava Rao, *Eighteenth Century* Deccan. Khafi Khan has been discussed earlier. The two other will be taken under Biographical Doctionary & Biographies of Poets respectively.

[49] Printed Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore, 1871.

(*ii*) *Safinah-i-Khusro*: Many eminent Sufi saints used Persian as one of their vehicles of expression and thus contributed to its diffusion and enrichment. The records of their conversations were preserved in the *malfuzat* : their correspondence in *maktubat* ; both throw light on socio-religious life of the age.

There are two reputed standard biographical dictionaries-of Mughal *mansabdars* written during the 18th century.

(i) The first is the *Ma'asir ul Umara* (Lives of Mughal peers), generally ascribed to Samsam-ud-daulah Shah Nawaz Khan Aurangabadi (d. 1171/1757-8) and his son Abdul Hayy Khan (1194/1780). It is not generally known that after the murder of Shah Nawaz his collected papers were for some time (1759) edited by his scholar-friend Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami. The entire work took 37 years to be completed (1742-79). Based on contemporary sources, it constitutes an indispensable work of reference.

Mir Abdur Razzaq, better known by his title Shah Nawaz Khan belonged to a distinguished family of Mughal officials and was born on 9 March, 1700, posthumously, at Lahore, where his grandfather was *diwan* (also of Multan) and where he was educated. In 1715 he went to the Deccan, where three brothers of his grandfather held high posts and settled at Aurangabad, Deccan. He was appointed by the Nizam Diwan of the *subahdar* of Berar (1732-40), dismissed in 1741 for his complicity in the rebellion of Nasir Jang, but recalled in 1747 as *Diwan* of Berar. Nasir Jang, on becoming the Nizam, appointed him his chief Minister (1748-55). After some time he become the

Governor of Haidarabad Province and also chief adviser of Salabat Jung (1751-1752). He became the Diwan of the Nizam (December 1753) and was awarded the title of *Samsam-ud-daulah*. For inviting Nanasaheb Peshwa to help him in the internal power politics, he was dismissed in July 1757. He was restored in November 1757, to his post, but he had to lose all effective power to Nizam Ali Khan, younger brother of Salabat Jang and he was murdered on 11 May, 1758, a victim of the struggle between Nizam Ali Khan and Hyder Jung, the agent of the French. Though he failed as a statesman on account of his opportunism and lack of resources, he owns immortal fame as the author of the *Maasir*, which no student of Mughal history can ignore.[50]

(ii) *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* by Kewal Ram, son of Raghunath Das Agarwala of Kansa in Bulandshahr (written, 1194/1780), though very brief, gives a general index or a 'biographical account of *mansabdars* (above 200) of Hindustan from Akbar to Bahadur Shah and Hindu Rajas. It also refers to some notable events of Jahangir's time and revenues of the empire. It contains little more than patents of nobility, privileges and insignias given and the occasion of promotion. It is certainly meagre as compared to the *Maasir-ul-Umara*.

As regards biographical literature in languages other than Persian, we may mention the following. The list is not exhaustive.

(i) **Marathi :**

(a) Brahmendra Swamichen Charitra, Parasnis.
(b) Shahu Roznishi and
(c) Balaji Baji Rao Roznishi, both edited by Vad.
(d) Bhau Sahibanchi Bakhar.
(e) Shivaji and (f) Chhatrapati Sahu Maharaj by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis or Chitnis Bakhar are late works (19th century).

(ii) **Rajasthani :**

For Abhai Singh we have *Suraj Prakash* by Karni Dan and *Raja Rupak* by Vir Bhan (now printed, Nagari Prachartni Sabha, Benares).

(iii) **Hindi :**

For Chhatrasal Bundela, we have *Chhatraprakash* by Lal Kavi (Tr. Pogson, Hist. of Boondelas). The Life of Suraj Mal is given by Sudan in Sujan Charitra (Nagari Prachartni Sabha).

(iv) **Sanskrit :**

About Ajit Singh there are two contemporary Sankrit works (a) *Ajitodaya* by Bhatt Jagjivan, his court poet; (b) *Ajitcharitra* by

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[50] English Translation in 2 vols. H. Beveridge, 1911; Beni Prasad, 1951.

Balkrishna. About Abhai Singh we have *Abhaivilas* in Sanskrit also by Bhatt Jagjivan.

5. Autobiographies, Memoirs and War-memoirs

There are a few works which belong to the rank of autobiography or a memoir. Private memoirs have the most useful and engaging shape which history can assume (Briggs), viz., *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha* by Bhimsen Burhanpuri (c. 1708-9).[51]

The *Roznamcha* of Mirza Muhammad starts from 1707, but has a brief account of Aurangzeb's reign, useful in giving an insight into the character of some Alamgiri nobles who survived him.

The *Tazkirah* or *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* by Iradat Khan, composed in 1126/1714, covers the period 1703-13. His original name was Mirza Mubarakullah, and he served the Mughal government as *faujdar* of Aurangabad and *qila'dar-faujdar* of Mandu. For his good services he was entitled Iradat Khan in the 40th regnal year of Aurangzeb. After his death he supported Azam but Bahadur Shah treated him kindly. His account is full of information for the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. He died in 1716.[52]

Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk deals with the Empire (1754-58).

Anand Ram 'Mukhlis,' son of Raja Hirde Ram Khatri of Lahore, was appointed *Wakil* of Qamaruddin Khan (*Wazir* of Muhammad Shah) in 1719-20 and later also of Abdus Samad Khan (Zakariya Khan), governor of Lahore and Multan. His own family had good connections with Delhi court. A reputed writer and poet, he had several works or tracts to his credit. Both *Badai-i-Waqai'* and *Tazkirah-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis* (which ends in 1748) are collections of his tracts. The latter (Sarkar colln. Nat. Library) has three parts, Nadir Shah's invasion ; and the first campaign of Ahmad Shah Durani.

6. *Tazkirah-i* (or *Tarikh-i*)- *Shakir Khan*, is a very valuable source material of the 18th century. Nawab Shakir Khan was the fourth son of Amir Shams-ud-daulah Lutfullah Khan Bahadur Sadiq of Panipat, a *mansabdar* of 7000, and Governor of Delhi at the time of Nadir's invasion. Shakir himself was a *Bakhshi* in Risala Sultani and became a *Diwan* in the time of Shah Alam II (c. 1780). The work (Ms. 1179/1765, Sarkar colln. Nat. Lib., Add. 6585) records the Khan's observations from the accession of Muhammad Shah to that of Shah Alam II. Its references to the Punjab are brief. It is wanting in order and

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[51] See later under Hindu historians.

[52] English Translation by Jonathan Scott, *Memoirs of Eradat Khan*, 2 vols. 1794.

precision and lacks dates. But it gives at the end revenue tables, draft specimens of legal deeds and appointments and lists of officials under Muhammad Shah with whose reign it is mainly concerned.

7. *Tazkirat-ul-Ahwal* (or *Tazkirah-i-Ahwal*), constituting the autobiography or memoirs of Sheik Muhammad Ali Hazin (1692-1766), gives information about Nadir Shah's invasion. (Tr. by F.C. Belfour, London, 1830.)

8. *Tazkirah-i-Tahmasp Miskin* or *Tahmas-Namah* is the autobiography or memoirs of Tahmasp (Tahmas) Khan (Miskin), entitled Mukham-ud-daulah Itiqad Jang (wr. 1193/1779-80). He came to India as a slave of an Uzbeg in the army of Mir Muin-ul-Mulk governor of the Punjab (1748-53) and became his personal attendant and later on his widow Murad Begum (Mughlani Begum 1753-58), Zain Khan of Sirhind and Zabita Khan Ruhela.

He was in the Punjab at Sialkot, Jammu and Sirhind during the next four years (1758-62). He was present in almost all expeditions of different chiefs against the Sikhs during this period. He was also an eye-witness of many events in the life of the Abdali invader in India. The work is very useful for the graphic details of the period.

Lastly we have to consider a few war memoirs or memoirs on military campaigns. A few *Jangnamahs* (books on wars) for the reigns of Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar, as well as the memoirs of Shaikh Ghulam Hussain (pen-name Samin), *Halat-i-Amdan-i-Ahmad Shah*, present during the latter's fourth invasion (1756-57) have already been referred to. Then we have the *Jangnamah*[53] of Qazi Nur Muhammad (wr. 1765), giving a versified account of the seventh invasion of Ahmad Shah (1764-65). Nur Muhammad accompanied the invading army, as desired by his chief Nasir Khan Baluch, Khan of Kalat, for recording the events of the campaign. He gives, as an eye-witness, the most original account of the battle, which is extremely valuable. He has praised the Sikhs very highly.

Of all the war memoirs of the period perhaps the most well-known and important is Kashiraj Pandit's account of third battle of Panipat and the events leading to it. This work, *Karzar-i-Sada Siv Rao Bhau-wa-Shah Ahmad Abdali*, is usually called *Ahwal-i-Jang-i-Bhau-wa Ahmad Shah Durrani* (MS. 1780).

The original is supposed to be lost but the British Museum has copies of it (Rieu).[54] Browne's translation of it was free and "unreliable." He had "omitted many graphic details and made serious mistakes at places, the latter portion of his work being rather scamped." Jadunath Sarkar, who retranslated it thinks that probably there was a longer version of the Persian text, as Ghulam Ali incorporated nearly one-fifth of the original "some times in a paraphrase but with one or two important additions."

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[53] Edited and translated by Ganda Singh, 1939.

This work is considered by Sarkar to be the fullest and most trustworthy source of the battle. A Deshastha (Deccani) Maratha Brahman, sojourning in Northern India for about 25 years before Panipat, out of dis-appointment in getting service in his own country, Kashiraj Shivadev (Shivarao) Pandit had served Safdar Jang. Then as a trusted secretary of Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh, he was present in Abdali's camp throughout the battle along with his master. He also took an important part as a mediator between the two sides, carrying a message to the Afghan wazir once. Besides he searched for the killed Maratha chiefs and cremated their bodies. All this made his account specially important as that of an eye-witness, who could 'see both sides more intimately and accurately than any one else. Sarkar considers Kashiraj to be honest, as he admits having written 19 years after Panipat; the inaccuracies and discrepancies due to 'lapse of memory or hurried writing' could be corrected, Sarkar thinks, by 'a critical and comprehensive study of the work,' especially because the contemporary Marathi letters published later corrobroate his account.

Shejwalkar's differences from Sarkar are fundamental. Kashiraj's whole psychological approach was anti-Maratha. He was disappointed in getting service under the Peshwa and so went northward : the Marathas were proud, Sadashiv was arrogant; the disaster was pre-ordained; Abdali had a divine role to punish them; he wrote his account perhaps for a British official in Oudh (c. 1780) when the Marathas were on the wane. Kashiraj falsified the date of Bhau's writing about his movement to Kashiraj (not three hours but three days before Panipat) to dramatise. Again, the value of being an eye-witness must be discounted; the battlefield being extensive, about seven miles, none could see things for himself. Kashiraj was again a civil and not a military officer. His version was based on other accounts as there are 'curious coincidences' with Bhau Bakhar, or both might have been derived from a common unknown source. Not only are his dates wrong but his account differs from the Bakhars in some important particulars. Hence Kashiraj's account is useful for the Afghan and not for the Maratha side.

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[54] Sir Jadunath traced one copy in U.P. It was copied (on 2 Rabi-ul-awwal, 1199, 13 January, 1785 at Dig in the camp of Emperor Shah Alam II) by Sayyid Md. Husain Sadri, perhaps, as Sarkar thinks, for Major Browne, then Resident with the Emperor. Lt.Col. Browne published his translation (1791) in *Asiatic Researches* (iii, 1799, should be 1792). It was reprinted and edited by H. G. Rawlinson as "An Account of the last Battle of Panipat" for the Bombay University in 1926. Jadunath's translation in *IHQ* (June 1934), as 'Panipat, 1761.'

6. Regional and Local Histories

Approach to regional and local history was a well-known feature of historiography in and outside India. In our country Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* is a classic example of regional history. Outside India this aspect came to be emphasized by historians with the break-up of the Muslim world-empire into separate and mutually hostile units (political and religious). In India with the decline of the Mughal empire and the rise of virtually independent states on its ruins, and the growth of regional consciousness, regional and or dynastic history came to be composed relating to (a) the Punjab and the Sikhs : (b) Oudh and the Rohillas; (c) Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; (d) Gujarat and Malwa; (e) Hyderabad and the Deccan.

(i) The Punjab and the Sikhs

The general sources for the Mughal empire also yield valuable materials for the Punjab, which occupied a highly strategic position in the north-west, and was the conduit through which the foreign invaders of the 18th century poured into the country.[55] Special mention may be made of the following :

Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan. This anonymous biography of Adina is attributed to a contemporary Sodhi (Guru) of Kartarpur in Jullundur district of the Punjab. The local Guru, closely associated with Adina against the Afghans was Wadbhagh Singh. But he was not at all a writer. Prof. Ganda Singh suggests that it was probably written by a disciple or *munshi* of his. Mistakes in facts and dates occur. (BM. Rieu, iii, 1044.)

Haqiqat-i-Bina O Uruj-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan wrongly attributed to

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[55] There are excellent bibliographies in Irvine (*Later Mughals*), N. K. Sinha (*The Rise of Sikh Power*), H. R. Gupta (*History of the Sikhs*; (*Studies in Later History of the Punjab*), Ganda Singh (*Banda Bahadur*; *Ahmad Shah Durrani*), and Khuswant Singh (*History of the Sikhs*).

Timur Shah, son of Abdali (Ganda Singh).[56]

Jang Namah by Qazi Nur Muhamad, wr. in 1765,[57] already mentioned.

Khalsa Namah by Diwan Bakht Mal, 1225-29/1810-14; a detailed history of the Punjab especially of the Sikhs. It was used by Sir John Malcolmn for his 'Sketch of the Sikhs.'

Risalah-i-Sahibnuma Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab or *Char Bagh-i-Punjab*, Ganesh Das Badehra, a Qanungo of Gujrat, wrote this general history of the Punjab on the basis of considerable material for second half of 18th century, especially about events near Gujrat (Punjab, Rieu, iii, 952 upto 1849), topographical descriptions.

Tarikh-i-Punjab by Ahmad Shah of Batala, 1820, a detailed history of the Punjab with valuable information about the Sikhs and their twelve *misls*. H. R. Gupta surmises that it was copied by Sohan Lal (in vol. I, appendix).

Tarikh-i-Sikhan or *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Punjab* by Khuswaqt Rai (till 1811), agent and intelligencer of E.I.C. at Amritsar, written for Sir Charles Metcalfe. It gives a very detailed account of early Sikh *Sardars* and is very informative and useful. It was used freely by Prinsep (*Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*) and by Murray (*Memorial of Capt. Murray*).

Umdat-ut-Tawarikh by Sohan Lal Suri, vols. I and II (1812). Printed Lahore, 1885-9. It is a general history of the Sikhs, with useful information about Abdali's invasions of the Punjab, very valuable. Its author was the court chronicler of Ranjit Singh : earlier part based on records of his own father (Ganpat Rai) serving Ranjit's father and grandfather. It was probably based on Bakhtmal's *Khalsanamah*.

Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh Waqaya-i-Multan (MS) by Sher Muhammad Khan, a history of Multan with special reference to its Afghan rulers.

Zafarnama-i-Muin-ul-Mulk by Ghulam Muhiuddin, 1162/1749.—deals with the achievements of Muin-ul-Mulk (Mir Mannoo) and is a contemporary account of the first two invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

See Gurumukhi and Marathi sources (SPD., vols. 2,6,21, 25,27,29, 38, 39,40,45; Rajwade, vols. 1 and 6).

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[56] Translated by I. Banerjee, *IHQ*, 1942.

[57] Edited and translated by Ganda Singh, 1939.

(ii) Oudh and the Rohillas :

As in the case of the Punjab, the general sources on the Mughal empire would also throw light on Oudh.[58] Special mention may be made of the the following :

In the Osmania University library there is an incomplete ms. called variously as *Zafarnamah-i-Alamgiri*, *Mughal Badshahat* and *Janishinan-i-Alamgir* (on the title and inside). It is an account of the Mughal Empire 1167-Shawwal 1171/July 1754—June 1748.[59] Prof. Ganda Singh names it *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk* as it contains a detailed account of Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, *Ma'dan us Sa'ādat* by Sayyid Sultan 'Ali al Husaini-ul-Musawi-us-Safavi, is a general history of India from Timur to death of Muhammad Shah. But it is mainly a history of Oudh Nawabs up to seventh year of Sa'ādat Ali 1805. The author was a native of Ardabil in Azarbaijan, from where he came to Lucknow.

Imad-us-Sa'ādat by Sayyid (Mir) Ghulam Ali Khan Naqvi bin Sayyid Muhammad Akmal Khan (written, c. 1223/1807-08) deals mostly with the history of Oudh (from Sa'ādat Khan to Sa'ādat Ali), or Bengal, of the Marathas and the Abdali, the Nizam, and the Sikhs, etc. It ends with the arrival of Minto as Governor-General, 1807 (Cawnpur, 1864). The author also subsequently wrote *Nigarnamah-i-Hind* (undated), an account of the battle of Panipat on the basis of news received from Kashi Raj.[60]

Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulah by Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan, a personal servant of the Delhi Wazir Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk (wr., c. 1773).[61]

Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daulah wa Ali Muhammad Khan wa Donde Khan by Behari Lal bin Badri Das. (1201/1787) (Salar Jang ms.), a munshi of Najib. Though inferior to Nuruddin's work, it gives a useful account of the later's transactions with the Abdali. J.N. Sarkar's copy of Hyderabad ms. gives the title as *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulah Amir-ul-Umara Sabit Jang*. It is inferior to Nuruddin's work.

It was after Shuja-u-daulah of Oudh that Har Charan Das, an officer of Nawab Ali Khan (of Delhi : wr. 1201/1787) named his

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[58] See the bibliographies in A. L. Srivastava's *First Two Nawabs of Awadh* and *Shuja-ud-daulah* besides the general sources on the Mughal Empire.

[59] Also in BM., OPL, RAS, ASB.

[60] 'Naqvi', according to Morley, p. 93. Some say 'Razwi' : details in E. & D., viii, pp. 396-7.

[61] English translation by J. Sarkar, *IHQ and Islami Culture*, 1933-34.

Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai and he dedicated it to his master.[62]

Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh (Rieu and Elliot), or *Tarikh-i-Fara Baksh* by Shiva Parshad or *Tarikh-i-Afaghana* (1776) and already mentioned, throws light on the Rohillas of Katehr and sidelight on the affairs of the Punjab.[63]

Jam-i-Jahan-Numa by Qudratullah Siddiqi, 1191-9/1777-85, is a general history of Mughal empire with details about Rohillas and other Afghans.

Gulistan-i-Rahmat, history of the Rohilla Afghans and a life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, who played a distinguished role for 30 years in Indian history, written by his son, Nawab Mustajab Khan Bahadur (1792), who praises his father for generosity and intrepedity.[64] It is abridged in.

Gul-i-Rahmat by Nawab Muhammad Sa'd Yar Khan, grandson of Hafiz Rahmat and nephew of Mustajba. In fact it is more detailed than the other, which is described as a guide. Its treatment is topical.

Daur Namah by Mittar Sen Kayeth (1207/1792-3) is a history of the Rohillas of Najibabad.

(iii) Bengal, Bihar nnd Orissa

Tarikh-i-Nusrat Jangi by Nusrat Jang, ed. by Harinath De.[65] *Tarikh-i-Alivardi Khan* or *Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan* (AS.ms.) or *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang* (BM. ms.) is a long, valuable and contemporary biography of Alivardi, a detailed memoir on the history of Bengal *subha* by an eye-witness in mid-18th century, specially of Alivardi's regime giving new facts and dates not found elsewhere. It was the chief authority of Ghulam Husain's account of the Bargi invasions and the Afghan rebellions. The author who is modest enough to apologise for inaccuracies or exaggerations, chooses to remain anonymous, was admittedly connected with Bengal politics since the time of Sarfarāz Khan. He had to suspend the composition till 1177/1763 (f. 42) on account of his going with Mir Kasim to Allahabad where his father died and he himself fell ill and it was completed thereafter in Shaban, 1177 (c. 1767). The suggestion of Mr. J. Hindley that the author was Yusuf Ali Khan, son of Ghulam Ali Khan, an intimate friend of

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[62] Reiu, iii, 912; E. & D., viii., Or. 1732; Sarkar Colln. Nat. Lib.

[63] English Tr. by Hoey.

[64] Abridged and translated by Sir Charles Elliot in *Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan*, 1831; E. & D., viii., Hamilton's *History of the Rohillas* differs, as the friends of the Nawab of Oudh were histile to Hafiz.

[65] Memoirs A. S., vol. ii., No. 6.

Mahabat Jang Alivardi is supported by the *Siyar*. Its author, Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, 'the greatest historian of later Bengal,' says that (i) Ghulam Ali was an important noble, acting as *diwan* of Bihar for some time; that (ii) the latter's son, Yusuf Ali, was a son-in-law of Sarfaraz Khan and helped Alivardi on some occasions; and that his own acount of the sufferings of the Nawab's troops during the march from Burdwan to Katwa to fight the Bargis was based on the memoir of the contemporary Yusuf Ali Khan, then present with them (ff.34-35).[66]

The *Muzaffarnamah* is a detailed history of Bengal from Alivardi to the deposition of Muhammad Reza Khan (Muzaffar Jang) by the English in 1772. Its author, Karam Ali, belonging to the family of the Nawab of Murshidabad, and very intimate with Alivardi whom he served as the *faujdar* of Ghoraghat for some years, was an employee of Muzaffar Jang, to whom his book, named after him, was dedicated, admitting that he wrote the work in 1186/1772 to remove the grief on his patron's removal.[67]

Salimullah's *Tarikh-i- Bangalah* (A.S.), a history of Bengal 1107-69 (death of Alivardi) written (1763) at the order of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal 1760-64, contains many interesting and important facts. Its translation by F. Gladwin (1788, Calcutta, reprinted, 1918), is, however, incomplete and somewhat incorrect.[68]

Ghulam Husain Salim of Maldah wrote his *Riyaz us Salatin* in 1786-87 at the request of Mr. George Udni, whose *munshi* he was. Text and Tr. by M. Abdus Salam, A.S. 1904. It is meagre in facts, mostly incorrect in detail and dates and vitiated by loose traditions.[69]

In Waqai-i-Fath Bangalah or *Waqai-i-Māhabat Jang*, Muhammad Wafa describes events before and after the accession of Alivardi up to 1161/1748. He was a panegyrist of Alivardi, to whom he dedicated the work and was not critical. However, he gives some important dates and some new facts regarding the Afghans.[70]

(iv) Gujrat and Malwa

Mirza Muhammad Hasan, *ālias* Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur, the author of the celebrated *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, belonged to a family of Persian emigrants. Born in 1700 at Burhanpur where his father was a civil official in Aurangzeb's Deccan army, he accompanied his father to Gujrat in 1708 when it was bestowed in *jagir* on Prince Jahandar Shah. He was educated at Ahmadabad where his father was appointed *Waqai-nigar* or chief reporter of the Prince's minister, Sayyid Aqil Khan. After his father's death he was appointed Superintendent of the cloth market and ultimately became the Diwan of the province of Gujrat from 1747 to 1755, when it was annexed by the Marathas (hence called the *Khatim ud diwan*). Unusually intelligent and active, Mirza Muhammad was trained in the school of adversity. As Diwan he found the administration utterly disorganised in the anarchical condition of the empire's dissolution, civil wars and Maratha raids. He had described the anarchy and the information of the province collected after a diligent search. In writing this History of Gujrat (1000/1760-61) which took ten years to compile (1750-60), he was assisted by a Hindu assistant, Mitha Lal Kayeth, the hereditary *subah-navis* of Gujrat.

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[66] Edited by Abdus Subhan. A. S.

[67] Mss. in BM., I.O. Lib; AS; OPL. Eng. Tr. by J. Sarkar, BPP, in part, 1947; *Bengal Nawabs.*

[68] Rieu, i, p. 312; See Abdul Karim, *Murshid Quli and his times*, introduction.

[69] Sarkar, HB. ii, p. 501.

[70] MSS. in OPL and Rampur. See Bibliographies in J. Sarkar, HB. ii, KK Datta, *Alivardi*, *Bengal Subah* and *Sirajuddaulah.*

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* falls into two parts, marked by separate treatment. The period up to Aurangzeb is brief and derivative, being based on previous works like the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, *Akbarnamah*, *Padshahnamah*, etc. But the latter part (and the *supplement*) are original, based on the author's own experience of the provincial administration and observations of the contemporary events, in many of which he himself took part. The *Khatima* or the supplement is valuable for the detailed topographical description of Gujrat, lives of saints, the official classes, statistical details and the administrative system in general. The work contains some *farmans* of Aurangzeb which throw valuable light on agrarian administation.

For *Malwa* see Bibliography in Raghuvir Sinh, *Malwa in Transition*.

The Deccan :

Some of the general chronicles of 18th century refer at times to the Deccan. Besides the biographical accounts of the Nizam-ul-mulk already refered to, there are certain works by contemporary historians which, while dealing with general history and biography, also throw light on the Nizam's relations with other contemporary powers like the Marathas and the French.

(i) *Tarikh-i-Rahat Afza* by Sayyid Muhammad Ali al Hussaini an inhabitant of Burhanpur, then the capital of Mughal province of Khandesh. His father was the master of artillery at Burhanpur early in 18th century. The value of the book was largely due to the fact that our author was in close contact with Mir Najaf Ali Khan (also of Burhanpur), son of Mir Dost Ali Khan, an army captain posted there (d. 1751). A close associate of Nasir Jung, successor of Nizam I (in 1748), Mir Najaf played an important role in the Deccan politics till Udgir (1760). It was under Najaf's instructions that Al Husaini wrote this work. It is a general history—of the house of Timur, of the Mughal in India, but mainly the Nizam, and of the period 1748-59. It thus throws considerable light on contemporary history and politics and new light on Maratha-Nizam relations and the role of Shah Nawaz Khan. (Wr. 1760; earliest ms. 1773; printed Hyderabad, 1947.)

(ii) *Tarikh-i-Zafrah* by Girdhari Lal of Hyderabad (wr. 1771) is a brief history of the Qutbshahis of Golkonda; of the Mughal emperor and of the Nizams and their relations with the Marathas, about which we get some new facts. But the work is not very critical, and the author is of a poetic turn of mind.

(iii) *Waqiat-i-Juda Shudan Ahl-i-Firang* (Event of Dismissal of the French) (written 1207 c./1792, Central Records Office Hyderabad). The author has not given his name but he seems to have been an eye-witness, judging from the contents on Nizam-French relations and a supporter of Hyder Jung Asad-ud-daulah, the right hand man and agent of Bussy. Salabat's effort to dismiss him (1756), however, proved abortive.

(iv) *Tuzuk-i-Asafiya* by Tajalli Shah (wr. 1794; printed 1893) deals with the Nizam-Maratha relations (1724-1800 and life of Nizam Ali Khan Nizam 1761-1800). We do not know much about him. He was a scholar-poet attached to the Nizam's court at least since 1751 when he was 13 years of age. He was present in his camp during Salabat's invasion of the Maratha territory along with Bussy, and also present at the battle of Bidar, 1773, between the Nizam (Nizam Ali Khan) and Raghunath Rao after Narayan Rao Peshwa's murder. The author was an admirer of Madhav Rao Peshwa and opines that if he had killed Raghunath Rao early, the future tragedies in the Maratha empire would have been avoided. Several points, mentioned by Tajalhi require scrutiny in the light of Maratha sources. The author is partisan, minimising the reverses and glorifying the victories of the Nizam. He wrote his work in ornate Persian then in fashion.

(v) *Ma'āsir-i-Asafi* by Lakshmi Narayan Khattri, Aurangabadi (Shafiq). As the historian of the Nizam's family since 1658, he occupies a prominent place among the historians of 18th century Deccan. For four generations his family had served the family of the Nizam as a hereditary revenue official. His father, Lala Manasaram, was the secretary of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Born in 1743, Lakshminarayan became a master of Persian and Urdu and a disciple of the famous scholar, Ghulam Ali Bilgrami (1704-86) and a friend of the reputed Urdu poet Siraj Aurangabadi. He himself was a poet, author of two works, *Chamanistan-i-shora* and *Gul-i-Rana* which are used even to-day by students and scholars of Indo-Persian literature and Urdu. His historical works number three : (a) the *Maasir-i-Asafi*, wr. 1792-3, dealing with the family of the Nizam from the migration of Khwaja Abid to India in 1658 (Ms., As.). Though it is a voluminous work of 1057 pages, much of it (up to 1761) has no independent value, for the author, following the usual practice of plagiarism of Indo-Persian historians, copied hundreds of pages from other historians—Khafi Khan (about 120 pages), Ghulam Ali (80), and *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* (IOL.ms.) about the origin of the Marathas, a Persian translation of a Marathi Bhakar (100 pages).[71] He is not very critical in sifting material or coming to any judgment. It was only from about 1761 that his work gains importance, as he became a witness to relations of the Nizam with the Marathas and with Mysore. As he had contacts with the *vakil* of Tipu, and was a courtier in the court of Nizam Ali Khan and a secretary of Alijah, his eldest son for a pretty long time, he could give a fairly detailed account of the Nizam and Hyder Ali and Tipu.

(b) The *Bisat-ul-Ghanaim* (wr. 1799), a short history of the Marathas up to death of Peshwa Balaji Rao Nana Saheb 1761.

(c) The *Haqiqat-i-Hindustan*, a statistical work, details of revenue divisions, districts and parganas of the Mughal empire (wr. c. 1804).

Haqiqat ul 'Alam (vol. 2) (best Persian source) by Mir Abul Qasim Mir Alam (minister), ends 1739, completed 1802.

The Marathi sources (e.g., newsletters from the court, despatches of officers, reports of Peshwa's agents) yield new information regarding the activities and the campaigns of the Nizam. There are several mss. in Asafiya Library and *Daftar-i-Diwani*. Hyderabad, listed by Yusuf Husain in his book, *The First Nizam*.

Was there any local history—history and geography of towns and villages, of personalities, temples and mosques and churches of a certain place ? In Islamic historiography there were numerous examples of these, where not only countries and provinces but even some cities came to have each its particular history and separate historian. Thus civic pride or autonomy led to histories of Mecca, Baghdad, Damuscus, Aleppo, etc. It was Al Maqrizi (1364-1422), who, in contrast to the traditional methods of chronicles and biographies, emphasized the topography and antiquities of Cairo. The nearest approach to local history in India was the gazetteer type of work supplying us with statistical surveys, geographical and biographical details and descriptive accounts like the *Ain-i-Akbari* of the 16th century and *Haft Iqlim* of Amin Hamad Razi (Bib. Indica. in progress). A History of Multan *(Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh) Waqaya-i-Multan* written by Sher Muhammad Khan has been referred to already.

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[71] Translated by J. Sarkar, *Modern Review*, 1907.

Among local history may be included topographical and descriptive accounts. The *Chahar Gulshan* (Four Gardens) or *Akhbar un Nawadir* by Chatarman Rai Kayeth (1173/1759) serving under Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk supply useful statistical, topographical and also biographical data up to Shah Jahan II. This has four parts : the third deals with the roads from Delhi to chief towns in India with distances and stages; and the fourth with biographies of Hindu saints, Sikh Gurus and Muslim *faqirs*. As the work was finished a week before his death, it was unconnected. Hence it had to be arranged and edited by his grandson, Rai Bhan Raizada 1204/1789-90. The latter compares it with 'ocean placed in a cup,' i.e., so much information in such a small compass. This has been partially translated [along with *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala (1695),[72] which is highly valuable for topographical details] by Jadunath Sarkar in *India of Aurangzeb Topography, Statistics and Roads* (1901).

The Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-futuh (about 1761) is useful for military routes of those days. Muhammad Jafar Shamlu, a born servant of the Safavis, accompanied Ahmed Shah Abdali to India and was present at Panipat in 1761. He has given a valuable account of the different stages where the Abdali halted, on his march from Qandahar, Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi and battle of Panipat.[73] Subsequently he came to be attached to M. Beg Khan Hamadani (Iftikhar-ud-Daulah Firoz Jang) in India, then in service of Mirza Najaf Khan.

Chahar Chaman by Daulat Raj, 1820.
Ibratnamah by Mufti Aliuddin of Lahore, 1854.

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[72] Edited and published by M. Zafar Hasan (1918).

[73] E. & D., viii., Br. Mus; Sarkar MS, National Library.

Waqai Sarkar Ranthambhor wa Ajmer.

Tarikh-i-Lahore by Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal (in Urdu).

Tirthamanaala (in Bengali) by Vijayaram Sen Visarad.[74]

History of the People

Did the 18th century historians display any interest in studying the history of the peoples as such, as in Islamic historiography where historians studied the history of peoples like the Mongols, Tartars and Negroes ? The general or regional histories and some biographies did deal with the peoples like the Sikhs, the Rohillas and the Marathas. Shiva Prasad's *Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh* (or *Farah Baksh*) or *Tarikh-i-Afaghana* (1776) throws light on the Rohillas of Katehr. Ali Ibrahim Khan wrote *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, a history of the Marathas (1786) (*temp*. Cornwallis). But these contain mainly political history.

7. Administrative Literature

A few authors tried their hands on administrative literature. This includes administrative and accountancy manuals, statistical tables, topographical or descriptive accounts. The type of administrative literature represented by the *'Ain-i-Akbari* ended with Abul Fazl, and came to be replaced by *Dastur ul 'Amals* or administrative manuals during Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's reign. These contain highly condensed abstracts of facts and figures with additions for subsequent reigns, and describe methods of administration, revenue rules and regulations, give reliable statistical data, figures of land revenue and detail some institutions or duties of officers. But these are very rare, being available in India Office and British Museum or scattered in different libraries. On account of the defective state and bad handwriting of the mss. and use of signs for numerals, their reading becomes conjectural. These defects may be corrected with the help of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* of Ali Muhammad Khan. Jagjivandas gives useful statistics of all provinces in 1707 in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (wr. 1708). Mention must be made of *Haqiqat al Hindustan* (wr. 1804) by Lachmi Narayan 'Shafiq' Aurangabadi; *Diwan-i-Pasand* of Chattar Mal, *Dastur ul amal* of Rajah Rup claiming to be a disciple of Rajah Todar Mal, *Dastur ul amal* of Khwajah Yasin, *Risalah-i-manasib* of Najaf Ali and *Kaifiyat-i-Subajai-i-mamalik-i-mamalik-i-mahrusah-i-Hindustan*. A British Museum ms. compiled after the death of Aurangzeb gives the statistical account of the area, divisions and revenues of the Mughal provinces based on the *'Ain* and the village and area statistics of

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[74] See Metrical history.

Aurangzeb's reign.[75] An eighteenth century work, *Hedayet-ul-Qawaid*, written by Hedayetullah, a disciple of Shāh Ahmad Munswwar of Maner, Patna district in Bihar (1715) is a store-house of minute information about the duties of officers at different levels,—central, provincial, district, parganah and village,—and contains instructions for their conduct and also about official routine. Reference may also be made to *Dastur-ul-'Amal* of Jawahar Nath 'Bekas' Sahaswani (A.D. 1732) (Aligarh ms.); *Risala-i-Zirā'at* (Edinburgh ms.) the preface showing it was written in Bengal a little before the British conquest (c. 1750); and *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahanshahi* by Braj Rāi, c. 1727, enlarged by Thakur Lal, 1776 (BM. Add. 22,931).[76]

The *Sawanih-i-Dakkan* (lit. News of the Deccan, ms.) by Munim Khan Aurangabadi (1197/1782) is a work on the Province of the Deccan unlike the *Khulasat* of Sujan Rai and *Chahr Gulshan* of Chataraman Rai which deal with the provinces of the Mughal empire. The author, as we know from the work itself, was fully qualified to write it. His family belonged to the famous divine, Khwaja Yusuf Hamdani migrating from Kabul to Delhi and thence to the Deccan in the train of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, appointed Viceroy thereof (1715), and connected by marriage with the family of Mubariz Khan. His father, Khwajah Abdul Ghani Khan, long settled in Hyderabad, joined Ghaziuddin, eldest son of the Nizam, on the latter's arrival to claim viceroyalty of the Deccan (1752). Munim Khan's rise to power was rapid : a *mansab* of 500; faujdar of Gulbarga, 1774 with charge of additional Telengana *mahals; mansab* of 2000/1000, title of Qudrat Jung; *mansab* 4000/3000 and title of Munim-ud-daulah; Governor of Devarkonda and in charge of Nalgonda district. At the time of writing the work (1782) he had crossed his 47th year and was working as Governor of Bidar fort and attached mahals. More than half of the work deals with the revenue statistics of the six provinces of (Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad, Bidar, Bijapur and Hyderabab), their *Sarkars*, *mahals* or parganas and villages in each mahal the Deccan, the author having free access to the Record Offices of the Nizams, which continued to maintain the old Alamgiri territorial and administrative divisions, even after the Maratha reconquest of territories and the British occupation of Arcot and Northern Sarkars and the conquest of large slices of terriory by Haidar and Tipu.

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[75] Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India.*

[76] *Ibid.*

8. **Letters** : (Historiography and epistolography?)

Correspondence constitutes a very valuable and reliable source of history, giving the actual history without any proneness to flattery or eulogy, and an insight into the character, motives and ideas of the writers, invaluable basis for interpreting the thoughts and actions of persons. This would either be official or private. Aurangzeb's voluminous correspondence in several series is well known. During the eighteenth century we have among others the following :

Letters of Abdulah Khan : (a) *Ajaib-ul-Afaq*, mostly relating to 1712; (b) *Balmukund namah* written on his behalf by his *munshi* Mehta Balmukund (Pat. Univ. Ms.), dealing mainly with 1719-20.[77]

Khujistah Kalam, letters of Md. Khan Bangash ed. by Sahib Rai. Valuable for miltary affairs.

Insha-i-Gharib by Lala Ujagar Chand Ulfat.

Insha-i-Madho Ram ed. by Madho Ram.

Khatut-i-Shivaji : contains three letters of Shahu to Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I.

Siyasi Maktubat by Shah Waliullah.

There are two epistolary compilations valuable for history of Bengal and Bihar during mid-18th century, (i) *Dastur-ul-Insha* compiled by Munshi Vijayram of Lucknow (1769), containing letters of Rajah Ramnarain to the Nawab and his officers and also of his brother Rajah Dhiraj Narain. (ii) *Dastur-ul-Insha* compiled by Munshi Shaikh Yar Muhammad Qalandar (c. 1757) at the instance of his patron Fidai Khan (or Sayyid Ghulam Husain Khan), for the benefit of young readers. (OPL MS; Printed Cal. 124 ON.) It contains letters relating to events in India, especially Bengal (1151-70 H.). The author was present in Bihar when Alivardi was Deputy Governor and joined Kamgar Khan and others in an unsuccessful conspiracy against him. It also contains some letters of Shahāmat Jang (during his temporary charge of the government of Bengal) during Alivardi's pursuit of the Marathas to Orissa.

Besides the biographies of the *Nizam-ul-Mulk*, there are two collections of his letters, preserved at Hyderabad :

(i) *Munsha'at-i-Jurat* or *Munsha'at-i-Musawi Khan*. Mir (Muhammad) Hashim Musawi Khan 'Jurat' was a reputed scholar and the *Nizam's Mir Munshi*.[78] The letters written under Nizam's instructions were collected by his grandson.

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[77] Translated and edited by Satish Chandra, text by Abdur Rashid, Aligarh Muslim University, 1972 as 'Letters of the King-maker of the 18th century.'

[78] Life in MU.

(ii) *Gulshan'e Ajaib* : letters written by Ram Singh, also a *munshi* (Secretary) of the Nizam.

A few letters of the Nizam, some of which are in the archives of Bhopal and Jaipur, have been translated by W. Irvine.[79] Letters of Nizamul mulk to Md. Shah after defeating Mubariz; by J. Sarkar 'Two historical letters by Asaf Jah I'[80]—to Nawab of Cudapah describing the Nizam's campaign against Baji Rao in 1731; and to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur; and by Yusuf Husam Khan, six letters.[81]

Murasalat-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani, Correspondence between Ahmad Shah Abdali, Emperor Shah Alam II, Ruhela, Afghans and Rajput rulers, 1173-76/1759-62 valuable original source material on Abdali's transactions in India.

Calendar of Persian Correspondence from 1759 onwards translated and published by the Imperial Record Department (from 1911). The correspondence between some servants of the E.I. Company and Indian rulers and nobles is very valuable for supplying correct dates and minute details about events in North India.

As regards correspondence in non-Persian language, we may refer to Marathi and Rajasthani records, already mentioned under Archival material.

9. Metrical History

What was the vehicle of history-writing in the 18th century,—prose or poetry ? While a majority of writers composed their works in prose, often interspersed with couplets or verses, a few writers, Hindu and Muslim, possessed of poetic talents, chose to display their skill in verse, like Hasan Nizami, Amir Khusrau and Isami in the Sultanate period. The historian was a poet or the poet became a historian. The value of such historical poems. which may be called artistic forms of history, lies in their being written by contemporaries or eye-witnesses. But works written by highly imaginative poet-historians or by officials containing panegyrical notices of 'great men' or masters, needless to say, require very careful scrutiny.

There is an anonymous metrical history from the reign of Bahadur Shah I (1708) to the death of Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah (1748).

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79. In *Asiatic Miscellany*, 1885.

80. *Islamic Culture*, 1941 with Text,

81. In *Life of Nizam*.

(*Tarikh-i-Futuhat-i-Asafai alias Shah Nama-i-Deccan*). Following the Asafiyah Cat. (p. 96), C.A. Storey[82] ascribes it to Mohammud. Ahsan Ijād. But he died in 1720. One verse in the introduction gives his penname 'Ma'ni.' So, on the basis of *Subah-i-gulshan* (complied by Ali Hasan Khan Saleem of Bhopal, 1881) which mentions Abul Faiz 'Ma'ni, it is belived that this was the name of the author, as Abul Faiz was a pupil of Mirza Bedil, the famous contemporary poet of Asaf Jah.[83] He was probably in the Nizam's service.

Sridhar *alias* Muralidhar, a Brahman of Prāg (Prayag) wrote a long Hindi poem (of 1630 lines), the *Jangnamah* or a contemporary account of the struggle between Farrukhsiyar and Jahandar Shah.[84] True there are a few unhistoric statements : Abdullah Khan not at Patna but at Allahabad : Mir Jumla's asserted opposition to Jahandar is 'pure myth'; some dates hopelessly wrong. But some of the details as to localities add to our previous knowledge and the copious use of actual names shows that author was present in the army or wrote immediately afterwards. The introduction (containing names of tribes—1. 1133) is 'ingenious but effective' : "*Rajput Sohāe Sāje ae, Hādā Gaur, Sombaṁsi Cāuṁhān Caṁdeṁle, Bais Baghele, Gaharwar au Raghubaṁsi Kachwāha Sulaṁki Haihayabaṁsi, Sirnete, Parihārāṁsi, Gandharb Siṁh Raja Sajyo, dal, Buṁdelo, Surajbaṁsi.*"

The description of the battle (v. 1325) is graphic :

तहूं तीर तर तर वान सर सर सु भर भर गोला चले ।
पग पिलत आगेहीं आगेहीं सावत भूप भले भले ।
भाट लाल मुष मुष भरे पीरे रंग कायर हल हले ।
जिमि देषि जाचक दानि सुष सूभः सुष दुग मूप वेकले ।

Their arrows flew "tar tar," rockets hissed "sar-sar,"[84] bullets whistled "bhar-bhar."

With feet advanced, onward and onward went many excellent heroes and lords.

The valiant with reddened faces, full of joy, the cowards all pallid and trembling.

Just as seeing a beggar the generous look happy, the miser uneasy and displeased.

A Hindi poem, 'Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah,' was composed by Tilok Das.[85]

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[82] *Persian Literature*, ii. p. 604.

[83] Zahir-ud-din Malik, *Khan-i-Dauran*.

[84] Tr. by W. Irvine, *JASB*, LXIX. i. 1900, pp. 1-80 dated 1713 according to him.

A metrical history of Auranzeb's successors till the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign is given in *Sharfnama-i-Muhammad Shah* by Mir Muhammad Raza.

Muhammad Bakhsh Ashub, *Karnamah* (As. ms.) wrote to order a *masnavi* (of about 3000 couplets) to celebrate the wars of Nawab Muin-ul-Mulk of Lahore against the Abdali, 1748-9.

It is not generally known that Ahmad Shah Durrani was a poet. A collection of his *ghazal* (*Loe Ahmad Shah*) was compiled by Abdul Hay Khan Habibi, Kabul, 1319 Afghani, 1940 Pashto (Ganda Singh).

There are also several versified accounts of the Durrani invader. His first Indian invasion was the theme of a *masnavi*, *Fatehnamah* by Sheikh Husainullah who composed it in late 18th century.[86] A more or less contemporary metrical history of the Shah (*Ahmad namah*) was composed by Abbul Latif of Kharkhauda (20 Jumadi I, 1184/ 11 Sep., 1770). Another contemporary versified histority of his was written by Nizamuddin Ishrat, *Shah namah-i-Ahmadiya*, but it requires to be sifted carefully as the poet-historian is highly imaginative.

Eighteenth century Bengali literature has several metrical histories which throw incidental but sometimes valuable light on political economic and social history of the period. We will mention only a few of these.

Bharatchandra Ray (1712-60), know as Rai Gunākar, born in Hughli district, was the Brahman court-poet of Maharajah Krishnachandra of Nadia (imprisoned by Alivardi) and was familiar with contemporary political events. His *Annadāmangala* represents the Maratha invasions of Bengal in mid-18th century as a kind of Hindu crusade against Alivardl who had plundered the temples of Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa and thus violated the sanctity of Hinduism. We are told that under instructions of Siva, his follower, Nandi, appeared in a dream before Raghuraja, (Raghuji Bhonsla) described as the king of the Bargis at Satara and a devotee of Siva, asking him to come to Bengal "to subdue the *Yavnas*" (Muhammadans).[87]

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[85] Edited and trans. by Irvine, *JASB.*, 1897, p. 24.

[86] Bib. Nat., Paris, iii, 1934.

[87] *Bharat Chandra Granthavali*, p. 4.
In fact Shahu was the ruler at Satara. But Raghuji Bhonsle was practically independent at *Nagpur* and he wanted to dominate over Shahu, his master. Checked by Baji Rao I, Raghuji sought to expend towards Bengal which did not pay *chauth* till then Raghuji was invited by the partisans of Sarfaraz and sent Bhaskar Pandit to invade Bengal.

It is difficult to judge the extent of historical truth in it.

Gangarām Dutta, was an eye-witness of the Maratha ravages in Bengal. He intended to write an account of these in *Maharashtra-purana* in two parts. Only the first part is available known as *Bhaskar Parabhav*, completed on Saturday, 14 Paus, 1158 B.S. or end of December 1751. He also ascribed the Bargi raids to divine intervention. Unlike Bharatchandra, Gangaram wrote from the point of view of the people and refers to their initial feelings of relief at the coming of the Marathas but ultimate disappointment at the baneful effects of the invasions on soceity.[88]

Tirthamangala by Vijayarama Sen Visharad (wr. 1177 B.S/1770) is a valuable contemporary Bengal versified work on travels. The author accompanied Krishnachandra Ghoshal, elder brother Gokul Chandra Ghoshal, E. I. Co's *Diwan* (27th Jan., 1767-26 Dec., 69), on a pilgrimage to holy places in Northern India (1769) and has left an accurate description of the routes taken and the placed visited.[89]

Sanskrit : Vaneshwar Vidyalankar, court-poet of Burdwan, was the author of *Chitrachampu* (wr. Nov. 1744), which corroborates Gangaram's account of the oppressions of the *Barqis*.

II. The Assessment

Nature of historiography and its problems

The preceding survey will make it amply clear that historiography of eighteenth century India, as of any other period, is not synonymous with complete histories of critical, professional, sober and impartial historians. It is not like a ready-made tailored coat or dressing gown kept handy for constant use. On the other hand it is like 'a dense and tangled jungle' without a broad pathway or an uncharted ocean of source-materials. The historian of today has to grope his way without adequate light. Primarily it is a matter of search, study, analysis, interpretation and synthesis of source-materials of different kinds just discussed. No material, however, insignificant or apparently faulty, should be discarded or ignored without due scrutiny. Nothing is to be accepted without due shifting and critical analysis. These are like shells within which Clio chooses to remain concealed. She does not reveal herself to any one who is not steadfast in devotion and arduous in his labours.

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[88] Pub. in Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Patrika 1313 B.S., pt. iv. See also the edition with English transliteration and introduction by P. C. Gupta and Edward Dimock.

[89] M.S. *Vangiya Sahitya Parisat*, ed. and pub. By Nagendra Nath Basu.
There are a few more works in Bengali like the *Granthavali* of Ramaprasada Sen (d. 1775), a poet; *Shivayana* (1750) by Rameshwar, patronised by Raja Yasovanta Singh of Karnagada in Midnapur; *Harilia* (1772) by Jayanarayan Sen, a relative of Rajballabh of Dacca; *Bhavani mangala* of Ganganarayan (mid-18th century); *Brihat Saravali* by Radhamadhava Ghose (mid-18th century) and a few others which throw light on socio-economic life of Bengal.
See K.K. Dutta, *Alivardi*, for details.

It is impossible in the 20th century to appreciate the problems and difficulties which a worker on medieval historiography in general and 18th century in particular has to face. The first problem is accessibilility. These sources are not always found stored like rice-heaps in a central or easily accessible place, but have got to be searched, nay even hunted. The researcher is not in the enviable position of a buyer of handy, will-stocked rice heaps in accessible markets. He has to be a hunter pursuing his prey. Sir Jadunath Sarkar had to comb the libraries of India and Europe to collect his materials for his *Aurangzib* and for his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. After search comes decipherment. The aspiring historian must needs be a linguist to unravel the *manuscript* materials in different languages as these are untranslated and even the translated ones are not dependable. Many again, are unpublished manuscripts and sometimes their illegible scripts (*Shikasta* in Persian, *Modi* in Marathi, *Dingal* in Rajasthani, etc.), serve to scare away even promising students like high voltage open electric wires. Thirdly, 'the immensity, variety and confused character' of the sources constitutes another hundle. The originals are rarely found. Copies and transcriptions made thereof often create confusion. MSS. whose contents are the same are named differently in different collections. Thus the valuable history of Bengal in mid 18th century specially of Alivardi is known as *Ahwal-i-Alivardi Khan* in the Asiatic Society, but *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang* in British Museum. Copies often prove to be defective. The not—too—highly educated scribe might have all unwillingly wrought havoc with the sense by addition or omission of *dots* (*nuqtā*). A bookworm might transform the merciful (*muharram*) into criminal (*mujrim*), and a careless scribe might do just the opposite. Often in both the original and copy the pages, including the title page and colophon are missing. Or wrong binding creates a mess in pagination. Sir Jadunath had to spend two months at the Asiatic Society to collate his copy of OPL copy of the wrongly arranged original of Faqir Khairuddin's *Ibratnamah* with the Asiatic Society copy in which also several folios were wrongly stitched.[90] Sometimes the pages of a ms. are jammed together owing to moisture or pressure. Dates of composition might be missing or the events might be undated. The latter may be calculated by chronogram or *abjad* system, corresponding to the date-value of words in Sanskrit or Bengali. But at other times these have to be calulated from internal evidence or with reference to other dated events or sources. As Sir Jadunath writes, "The dates of thousands of laconic Marathi despatches had to be corrected, before a single page of my narrative could be composed. To give two examples : the Persian news-letter collected by Claud Martin and now preserved in the British Museum in two volumes running to 1500 manuscript pages, do not except in the rarest cases give the year, and hence the owner has bound them by placing all the sheets of a particular month for these nine years lumped together in one place, in the order of the days of the month only." Sarkar had to "plough his way through these huge collections of reports and concentrate light on their contents from the three languages, Marathi, Persian and English" that he could, "date and interpret this class of sources correctly."[91]

Similarly we remain in the dark about the authors: their names might be lacking and many might choose to remain anonymous or remain silent on themselves out of sheer extreme humility or of sheer extreme humility or saftey. It becomes quite a problem to establish the identity and antecedents of the authors. Yet it is necessary to know them for a proper assessment of the historical value of their works. Thus it becomes incumbent on the scholar to check the facts of one unknown writer from those given by a known one. The authorship of *Ahwal-i-Alivardi* Khan, not known from the ms. itself, is known from the intuition of Mr. J. Hindley, corroborated by the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin*.

For the rectification of all such defects several copies of the same ms., if available, have to be collated for preparing a standard text.

Another formidable problem is created by the question of identification of place-names. Old place names have, again become obsolete and their location becomes well nigh impossible. To make matter worse, the old detailed *Indian Atlas* (survey of India) sheet (I" : 4 miles) are no longer readily available or their use has been suspended on grounds of security. This requires reference to contemporary maps of travellers or later experts in journals.

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[90] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire, III*, preface, pp. iii-iv.

[91] *Fall of the Mughal Empire, III*, p. iii.

Such were some of the problems which the modern pioneers in 18th century historiography in India solved in their way. Driving 'a broad pathway,' however ill-illumined, through the 'tangled jungle,' they laid the foundations on which we have built or are trying to build our superstructure. William Irvine's expectation of 'a word of acknowledgement' from the 'Gibbon of the future,' was fulfilled. But the venerable Indian patriarch of scientific historiography in India, who fondly hoped to save the 'future workers in this field' 'from much distraction and loss of time' has unfortunately been bluntly rebuffed by some of his *uttarsuris* within quarter of a century after his death.

Principles of Assessment

A fair assessment demands that we must not judge the 18th century historiographers with the yard-stick of modern historiography. We can, however, analyze, compare and form conclusions. To understand the ideals and achievements of the 18th century historiographers of India we have to consider several factors briefly : (i) the nature of history, (ii) the personal histories of the writers, (iii) their ideas and attitudes, (iv) methodology and technique, and (v) the extent of their success in fulfilling their limitations of their basic ideas, intelligibility in history and (vi) conclusion.

Nature of History

Admittedly history has a double aspect. It is both a science and an art. The historian has to be both a scientist and artist. As a science it is 'impartial, almost unhuman in its cold impartiality weighing documents, accumulating evidence, sorting out the false and a piecing together...not to teach nor to entertain, but simply to find the truth and set it forth.' As art it is the 'creature of imagination and style' (Shotwell). Briefly it is scientific in method, artistic in presentation. We must take our hats off to one 18th century historian, *Harsukh Rai* (*Majma-ul-Akhbar*, 1799) who regarded History as a science : and another, Mir Mubarakullah Iradat Khan (*Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan*) who stressed the need of writing in simple language for truth itself is pure and simple.

The authenticity of the fact or event must also be verified by tracing it to the source. The facts must be arranged in order, in proper chronological sequence. Hence time becomes the corner stone of history, just as space is of geography and matter of the physical sciences. As regards the chronological arrangement, the Muslim historians were generally superior to the Hindus (except the Ahoms), e.g., the Marathas and the Rajputs.

Personal History and Social Status

Now, who were the historiographers whose work we have to assess ? Who were the witnesses whose evidence we have to judge ? Who were our torch-bearers to illumine our path in the dense, tangled jungle of historiography with its ten faces ? Or our way to the island of Clio ? They were of diverse races, creeds and tongues, and belonged to different social status. The large majority were of course Indians, born and brought up in the country. But a few were immigrants—Arabs, Baluchis, Persians, Ruhelas, Turanis or Central Asiatics, the ancestors of some of whom had long settled here.

Details of the personal history of an author—family background, training, education, equipment, official connections, if any, character, temperament and idiosyncracies, are necessary to judge the quality of his work and to know whether he is a detached or interested writer. Some details about the personal histories of the writers have been given already. But unfortunately we do not get full information about all. Many are even anonymous, but from internal evidence it is clear that they were often contemporaries and even eye-witnesses. Similarly information about the author's social status is also an important factor in judging his objectivity. An enquiry into the social status of the historians may be instructive, reflecting the decay of the aristocracy and the rise of the middle classes, e.g., the *Khattris*, bankers, shroffs, *munshis*, etc., which characterised the 18th century. An attempt has been made below to group the writers according to their social status on the basis of information noted before.

Among the historians belonging to the ranks of the aristocracy the works of the following were generally characterised by a fair sense of detachment and were valuable; some like Karam Ali were eulogistic or partisan. To take a few names only (i) Mirza Muhammad Bakhsh 'Ashu'b,' foster brother of Emperor Muhammad Shah (author of *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukhsiyar wa Julus-i-Muhammad Shahi*; (ii) Iradat Khan (*Tarikh-i* or *Tazkirah-i-Iradat Khan*) ; (iii) Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari of Panipat, author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* : (iv) Anand Ram Mukhlis (author of several tracts and specially of his memoirs *Tazkirah-i-Anand Ram Mukhlis*, remarkble for his power of keen observation and analytical acumen : (v) Shah Nawaz Khan, author of the *Maasir-ul-Umara* which no student of Mughal history can ignore; (vi) Nawab Shakir Khan, author of a valuable memoir (*Tāzkirah-i-* or *Tarikh-i-Shakir Khan*). (vii and viii) in Bengal both Yusuf Ali, the biographer of Alivardi Khan and Karam Ali, the historian of Bengal, belonged to the aristocratic class : (ix) Mir Abdul Qasim Mir Alam (*Hadiqat-ul-Alam*) (x) Mirza Muhammad. Hasan or Ali Muhammad Khan (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*): (xi) Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahadur (*Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*).

The majority of the writers, however, belonged to the new middle class, then rising to prominence in the 18th century. Some were officials, high or low. Others were servants of their heroes or *munshis* (secretaries) of distinguished notables and even of their British masters, commanders and administrators, who specially commissioned them to write particular works. Many struggled hard to rise in life. Educated, intelligent and mentally alert, they witnessed the prevailing atmosphere and recorded their impressions and reactions to the events of the period. Such middle class historians may be classified for the sake of convenience as follows :

First, the two official historiographers of the period : Sāqi Musta'id Khan, author of *Maāsir-i-Alamgiri*, and Mirza Muhammad Shirazi entitled Danishmand Khan, author of *Bahadur Shahnamah.*

Then among the non-official or private historians we have (i) Mir Muhammad Ahsan Ijād (*Farrukh-Siyarnama*) ; (ii) Sayyid Muhammad Qasim Lahori (or Muhammad Qasim Ibrat Husain of Lahore) author of *Ibratnamah*, and a partisan of the Sayyid Brothers. (iii) Khushal Chand or Rai (*Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi* or *Nadir-uz-Zamani*, (iv) Muhammad Hashim or Hashim 'Ali Khan, better known as Khafi Khan. Both Ahsan Ijād and Khafi Khan may be regarded as of middle class origin rising to a higher class. (v) Ghulam Husain Bilgrami 'Samin,' author of *Halat-i-Amdan-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani dar Hindustan*: (vi) Faqir Khairuddin Muhammad Allahabadi (*Ibratnamah*) ; (vii) In Hyderabad Lala Mansaram, a Khattri biographer of the First Nizam (*Ma'asir-i-Nizami*) (viii) and his son Lakshmi Narayan Khattri Aurangabadi 'Shafiq' (*Māāsir-i-Asafi*) ; (ix) Ghulam Ali Khan Azad Bilgrami (*Khazanah-i-Ami ra*).

Some historians of the Punjab also belonged to the middle class. (x) Ganesh Das Badehra (*Sahibnuma Chahar Gulshan-i-Punjab*); (xi) Khuswaqt Rai (*Tarikh-i-Sikhan*) ; (xii) Sohan Lal Suri (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*). In Oudh the two biographers of Najib belonged to the middle class, (xiii) Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan ; (xiv) Behari Lal bin

Badri Das. Bengal had four middle class historians; (xv) Muhammad Wafa (*Waqai Fath-i-Bangala* or *Waqai Mahabat Jung*), a panegyrist of Alivardi; (xvi) Salimullah (*Tarikh-i-Bangalah*); (xvii) Ghulam Husain Salim (*Riyaz-us-Salatin*); (xviii) Ghulam Husain Tabatabai.

With a few exceptions like Anandram Mukhlis, the Hindu historiographers mostly belonged to the middle class, occupying subordinate civil administrative posts. Bhimsen Bundela was a hereditary Kayastha civil officer of the Mughals. Ishwardas Nagar Brahman was a civil officer posted at Jodhpur and served the chief Qazi of the Mughal empire till 1684 and then Shujaet Khan, Viceroy of Gujarat, Khushhal Chand (or Rai) was *munshi* in Diwani office at Delhi (1741). Harcharan Das was an officer of Nawab Ali Khan of Delhi. Sheodas (Shivadas) Lakhnawi was a *munshi* of a great man (not named). Kashiraj Shivaraj Pandit, a Deshastha Brahman. Secretary of Shuja; Munna Lal was the son of a *munshi*. Shiva Prasad wrote for Captain Kirkpatrick. Both Lala Mansaram and his son Laksmi Narayan 'Shafiq' Aurangabadi were Khattris. Chatarman Rai Kayeth served Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk.

Some historians were immigrants, like those who came with Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani. Others came of their own and settled long in the country. The immigrant foreigners may be grouped, according to the country of origin, as follows :

(i) *Arab*—Ghulam Husain ('Samin'), related to Caliph Abu Bakr, long settled in Bilgram and hence Bilgrami.

(ii) *Baluchi*—Qazi Nur Muhammad, sent by his Baluch Master, the Khan of Kalat, to accompany the Durrani invader.

(iii) *Irani*—(a) Muhammad Shafi-i-Teherani ('Warid').

(b) Mirza Muhammad Hasan alias Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur.

(c) Muhammad Jafar Shamlu, a born servant of the Safavis, accompanying the Abdali.

(d) Sayyid Sultan Ali ul Husaini ul Musawi us Safavi (a native of Ardabil in Azarbaijan).

(e) Abul Hasan ibn Muhammad Amin Gulistani.

(iv) *Ruhela Afghan* : Nawab Muhammad Mustajab Khan Bahadur and his nephew, Muhammad Sad yar Khan.

(v) *Turani* : (Central Asiatic) or Turki :

(a) Nuruddin Faruqi Balkhi.

(b) Yusuf Muhammad Khan Turani.

(c) Tajalli Shah attached to the Nizam's court since his 13th year, probably Turani.

(d) Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan (bin Muhammad Nasir Astarabadi).

(e) Tahmasp (Tahmas) Khan Miskin (a slave of an Uzbeg in the Army of Muin-ul-mulk).

(f) Mirza Māsita, connected with Seljuq Sultan Sanjar.

3. Ideas and Attitudes

We have to glean the ideas of history held by different writers and their methodology from their writings. Needless to say it is more interesting and instructive to study the ideas and methodology of the private historiographers than the official chronicles. While the latter had necessarily to follow certain official norms and were limited by the fact of their commission, the former could freely give vent to their ideas.

What was the purpose of history ? Most writers held that history was a record of events. A few held it to be a reflection of the times and characters of the principal actors and heroes. Some again went beyond its mere outward and visible surface to its roots and held that history was essentially utilitarian, a memorial to posterity. Some harp on the didactic character of history. A few with a philosophic turn of mind sought to combine such objectives. The 64-year old Mubarakullah Iradat Khan 'Waza' surung from a noble family (with a tradition of high government service from Jahangir onwards) undertook to record the unprecedented political vicissitudes which he had witnessed—"the destruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houses and noble families, the fall of worthy men and the rise of the unworthy," of which he, by virtue of his official experience, had "a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events." Muhammad Ali described his *Burhan-ul-Futuh* (Demonstration of Victories, 1735-36) to be 'a polished mirror,' reflecting men in different spheres.

To some others history has a utilitarian purpose, being a means of instruction. Muhammad Aslam was very eager to learn history, as he writes in *Farhat-un-Nazirin* ('Delight of Observers'), as it enables one to "acquire knowledge of manners and customs of ancients, of the accounts of travellers, of biographies of famous persons and wonders of the world." So he wanted his own history to "contain the most important and interesting matters, and which from its lucid and methodical construction and exceeding conciseness, might meet the approbation of the most enlightened minds." Harsukh Rai, author of the universal history (*Majma'ul Akhbar*), held history to be a means of acquiring 'knowledge for wise men,' and affording example to intelligent observers.' History is a precept which improves the understanding of sensible men; every past event is a 'precedent' to increase knowledge. Its study is beneficial to rulers and opens the eyes of the common people by supplying useful information. We can thus understand why Saqi Musta'id Khan, the first commissioned official historian of the 18th century, held that proper history is "a memorial for all times." Harcharan Das wanted "to produce a history of contemporary Kings and Amirs and of those noblemen in whose employment he had been, noticing at the same time all the historical importance which occurred under his own observation during his long life of eighty years. To this he also intended to add a sketch of his own and of his ancestors' lives, that he might leave a memorial to posterity." (E.D., viii, 204-8.). The Patna historian, Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, had one objective in writing his *Siyar*,—to help a future historian by supplying unbroken "the thread of successive occurrences." The anonymous author of a *Mukhtasir* (or abridgment of account of ancient Sultans), *Mukhtasir-ut-Tawarikh* (presumably written early in Shahjahan's reign), plagiarised verbatim by *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (end of 17th century), had a philosophic view of history, viz., the knowledge derived from history comes next to the knowledge of God and His Will; in view of the fickleness of fortune of the great and mighty without any vestiges of their pomp and power, "what doom can inferior creatures expect ?"

Didacticism in history has been acclaimed by all earnest thinkers of antiquity, in Greece, in Rome, in the Biblical tradition, by Miskawaihi (d 1030), Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), by Kalhana, by Barani, Yahya, Amir Khusrau, Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin. In the Mughal period, however, didacticism diminished, in Ferishtah, Kambu, and also in Khafi Khan, Bhimsen Burhanpuri and Iswardas But the idea that history has a moral purpose was not altogether absent in the 18th century. Muhammad Ali, author of *Burhan-ul-Futuh* (1735-6) has an eulogium on history, regarding it as a warning to posterity; a lesson for rulers; and at the same time a source of knowledge, giving information of culture and learning. Rustam Ali (*Tarikh-i-Hind*, 1741-42), obsessed with the worldliness of contemporaries who neglected to ponder on the origin and end of human existence, desired to write a history of just kings who controlled tyrants and oppressors. He made history a lesson to the wise, as it proved instability of earthly pleasure, the short duration of life and taught the need of other worldliness. Some Hindu chroniclers, too, like their Muslim counterparts, held that history has a moral purpose. Khushhal Chand held that the unique events and occurrences recorded by him would "serve as a lesson to touch the nice sense of honour of men of faith and sincerity and also of those of pervarications and hypocrisy;" that his work would be an "eye-opener to such persons." who might "rise from the sleep of apathy and pursue the faith of fidelity and submission." The modest Shiv Das Lakhnavi is less explicit but he, too, observes that "it was beyond his power to compose a work containing fresh acts of His (God's) justice which are calculated to intimidate and furnish the oppressive tyrants so that it should serve as a warning for the short-sighted and improvident persons." But, says Grunebaum, 'the lesson learned was merely one of morality, insight into human character and the vagaries of fate.'

What is the duty of an historian ? Representative historians of all ages in widely scattered parts of the world placed a high value on impartial and truthful delineation of history. Khafi Khan held a high ideal of the duty of an historian. His ideas on History may be considered from what he himself writes in his *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, 1733).

"I have already said in my Preface that it is the duty of an historian to be faithful, to have no hope of profit, no fear of injury, to show no partiality on one side or animosity on the other, to know no difference between friend and stranger, and to write nothing but with sincerity. But in these changeful and wonderful times of Farrukh Siyar Badshah...men have shown a partiality or an animosity to one side or the other exceeding all bounds. They have looked to their own profit and loss, and turned the reins of their imagination accordingly. The virtues of one side they have turned into faults, while they have shut their eyes to the faults of the other, passing all the bounds of moderation. The writer of these leaves, who following his own inclination, has wasted his days in authorship, has not been partial either to friends or strangers and has flattered neither nobles nor wazirs in the hope of reward."

Methodology and Technique

(A) *As Science* : The task of an historian is difficult, as Saqi Muhammad Khan frankly admits.[92] An historian has to establish facts and work them up. This presupposes several complicated processes : (i) search for and discovery of necessary documents; (ii) their critical sifting; (iii) explanation, (iv) correlation (v) reciprocal relations of fact and (vi) their interaction. Some of these fundamental ideas of modern historiographers can be traced among their 18th century counterparts, though in somewhat inchoate form. A few medieval historians like Abul Fazl were quite familiar with (i) the need of laborious collection of records and events; (ii) accumulation of evidence; (iii) search for evidence; (iv) materials from Imperial Record Office; (v) Report of ministers and officers; (vi) testing of evidence, (vii) marshalling of facts; (viii) repeated revision. If this was the approved methodology towards the end of the 16th century it is not to be expected that such procedure would be forgotten in the 18th century. Our difficulty is that all historians do not take us to their laboratory like Abul Fazl. We have to form our idea of their methodology from scattered statements and hints thrown. (i) *Need of sources* : Saqi Musta'id Khan's methodology was correct as he emphasized the need of sources and it was on his demand that the entire official archives containing state papers,—'sheets of news—letters of court and provinces' were placed at his disposal. Khafi Khan also admirably used the information derived from official records, open to few but to which he had access. Those, who were not fortunate in having access to archives, had necessarily to depend on other sources viz., books of the learned, other historical works and books of travel, as Muhammad Aslam did. One of the sources of the anonymous author of the *Mukhtasar* was the information derived from authentic histories. Harcharan Das used histories and biographies and biographical accounts of ancient rulers as a source. Harsukh Rai (*Majma-ul-Akhbar*) compiled his universal history on the basis of 'abstracts', of 'credible works' and 'authentic narrations.'

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[92] The Khan regarded his commission difficult as the task demanded 'leaders appreciative of merit' and 'masters expert in handling words' (M.A. 69).

(ii) *Personal experience or investigations*, constituted another basis of history-writing. Saqi Musta'id Khan supplemented the archival information with personal investigations or enquiries from the trusty friends or office-holders (of Aurangzeb's reign). Mubarakullah Iradat Khan, himself a high official, possessed, by virtue of his official experience, 'a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events,' and was 'a sharer as well as spectator of all the dangers and troubles ' He does not go beyond his own observation and discounted even eye-witnesses. This gives his work unusual veracity. The anonymous author of *Mukhtasar* admittedly based his work on his associations with the great and principal government of officials from whom he heard historical anecdotes. Khafi Khan also had to depend on oral evidence of men, who were 'the associates of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar and of the Sayyids who were his companions at the banquet table and in battle. 'Muhammad Ali compiled his *Burhan-ul-Futuh* from other works and brought out pearls from oceans.' Ghulam Husain wrote the *Siyar* on the basis of (a) his own experiences ('what I know of the subject') and (b) evidence of creditable persons, 'trustworthy and esteemed narrators.' Har Charan Dass recorded all facts of historical importance which occurred under his own observation during his long life of 80 years.

(iii) The need of testing evidence was also grasped. Khafi Khan recorded what he himself saw and heard only "after endeavouring to arrive at the truth when statements varied." He admits that as difference between authors, "who themselves may not be free from partiality," existed even in "the most trustworthy histories, his own account might not be accurate " The reputed author of the *Siyar*, however, disowns all responsibility for any mistakes, attributing these to his informants. A modern critic would perphaps look askance at his apology with disdain.

(iv) That history writing meant interpretation which needs ability was also recognised. Aware of this Inayetullah commissioned Saqi Musta'id Khan to write Aurangzeb's history saying. "You have tasted the cup of meaning and possess sufficient ability to express the praise of 'Alamgir and to discharge this task" (M.A. 68). As a constant follower of the court for 40 years and as an eye-witness of many events, Musta'id Khan was well qualified for the work.

Examples under each aspect may easily be given. But what has been said will amply prove that the historians of the period were quite familiar with some principles of modern historiography.

(B) History as Art : Style

An indispensable requisite of an historical work is its style, readability, so that it attracts readers and does not scare them away. Works in Persian by Muslim authors are generally written in verbose, ornamental, or flowery style in which the substance, is drowned in superfluous words, prevarications and equivocations. Some Hindus, writing in Persian, also aped this style of their Muslim counterparts. But a few others not only felt the desirability of writing in plain, straightforward language, but also emphasized the necessity of lucid style, methodical presentation and brevity. The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* of Saqi Musta'id Khan is a dry narrative of facts without much comment or verbiage. Mir

Mubarkullah Iradat Khan's *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan* (1714) is unique in this way. His object was, as he writes, not "to compile a flowery work but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge; so he wrote in a plain, straightforward style, as plain truth pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation." His personal narrative is vivid and vigorous, he does not go beyond his own observation. Muhammad Aslam sought to compile "a history which might contain the most important and interesting matters, and which, from its lucid and methodical construction and exceeding conciseness, might meet the approbation of the most enlightened minds." This was very striking in the eighteenth century.

Extent of the Success of the historiographers : Performance lagging behind precept

True, judged by rigid modern standards, the above methodology of the 18th century writers would appear to be somewhat vague and inchoate. But some of their ideas like the emphasis on archival material and sources and on personal experience and knowledge, and the need of verifying evidence must be regarded as steps to correct methodology. For the sake of accuracy, a microscopic few even discounted the evidence of eye-witness as not always reliable. All this would show that the historiographers of the 18th century caught the proper vision of the Temple of Clio, however, faint. This must be regarded as a great achievement of theirs .

Limitations—Nevertheless there were several limitations from which the historiographers of the period suffered. One was their lack of critical acumen. Following the old tradition of Islamic historiography many of them depended on transmitted evidence. They were primarily recorders and researchers afterwards. To them history was a repetition of 'authoritative' known materials, not a discovery of unknown data. The historian became a conduit, not a creator. He accepted without question : he transmitted information but did not transmute it in his mind. Honest historians acknowledged the debt to earlier writers. Unfortunately all were not honest. So there were some notable glaring cases of plagiarism. Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala, the reputed author of the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (1107/1695-6), is considered to have borrowed verbatim without acknowledgement from the anonymous author of *Mukhtasir-ut-Tawarikh* (962/c mid-16th century). Another well-known writer, Khafi Khan, once highly extolled for his excellent history, is now dubbed as 'the Prince of Plagiarists' for copying from Mamuri and Sadiq Khan. The great

Patna historian, Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, famous for his *Siyar*, is believed to have similarly borrowed from Sujan Rai or from the *Mukhtasir*, merely admitting to have followed an old *munshi*. Early British historians of India, finding ready materials at hand toed the line of the Indo-Muslim historians and getting their works translated, continued their tradition of writing political histories, so that history-writing even in the 19th century became merely 'history of histories.'

Another weakness was to be found in the basic ideas which coloured the writers' approach to history. (a) There was first of all the influence of the 'great man' theory of historical interpretation which dominated the ideas of some, especially the official historians and the servants and proteges of the contemporary heroes To Inayet-ullah Khan history was to be a collection of 'Alamgir's sayings and acts and events of his reign. Similarly Saqi Musta'id Khan also held that 'Aurangzeb was gifted with life eternal.' As a corollary of this attitude historians presented a succession of events and acts of and about the great and the high (Sultans, Officers, Saints) but not of 'the base and the lowly.' The same idea is voiced by Harcharan Das, who admittedly wrote on kings and nobles. History was treated more as a biographical or military history material than as a sociological factor or social science. Politics and war got more coverage than peaceful socio-economic activities. At best there were only occasional, brief, references to social functions and gatherings, festivals, festivities, music or dance (as in Shiv Das's work).

Bhimsen, however, has some pregnant observations on the sociological effects of the prolonged Deccan wars of Aurangzeb when he spoke of the birth of a 'tent generation,' born under canvas, of agrarian instability and oppression, and of one kingdom with two sets of jagirdars. He came nearest to being a social historian. A few writers, again, discussed universal history and human civilization as their subject of enquiry, referring to religious and intellectual developments (names of saints, learned, men etc.,). But there was none like Ibn Khaldum (1302-1406) to conceive of society as an organic unit. Hence eighteenth century Indian historiography, like medieval Islamic historiography, "did not set out to tell the saga of the evolution of society . . . " (Grunebaum.).

(b) The second idea was gratitude. Saqi Musta'id Khan felt that be must be 'true to the salt' of Aurangzeb. Many others also shared the same feeling towards their patron or master. In such cases history tended to be an eulogium, often exaggerating the qualities and under·

estimating the faults of the hero. Just as a natural deposit of saline matter corrodes the walls or foundations of a building and may render it unfit for use, so an overwhelming dose of gratitude on the part of the historian, i.e., his effort to be true to the salt of his hero will render his history unfit for sober use. It will cease to be true history.

Intelligibility in History

In modern times three categories of facts,—contingency or chance or individuality; necessity or institutional or social elements having certain laws; and logic or traditions and ideas—constitute the 'warp and woof of history.' But the medieval Muslim writers sought to interpret history differently. (a) First, Historical causation was due not to free human action but to divine intervention. Men were mere puppets before divine decree, the final determinant of action. As history was dehumanised, complex economic and social forces were not needed for interpretation of events. The element of chance was pushed to the background. But from the Mughal period (as in Abul Fazl) the humanistic and secular aspects of history (e.g., human nature) tended to become more marked. (ii) Secondly, the Muslim writers sought to interpret history in terms of conventional religio-ethical background, or to, use history as propaganda. Religion overbore all institutional or social needs and logic. History became theocratic, subservient to religion and theology, an instrument of glorifying Islam. A modern writer, has gone to the length of dubbing the medieval Muslim historians as "the first Muslim communalists of India" (Peter Hardy). But from about the end of the 16th century there was growing secularisation of history. True, the approach of several writers to history was still coloured by religious outlook. Saqi Musta'id Khan, trained in Aurangzeb's principles of orthodoxy, was profoundly influenced by his religious policy. The author's remarks on temple destruction and *jizya* clearly illustrate this. But the upsurge of the various nationalities within the empire as a result partly of intolerant religious policy of Aurangzeb and partly of socio-economic factors, the stirring events in the 18th century involving the clash of personalities, and of parties and the struggles of the peoples with the Delhi government at home and the international confrontations, emphasized the play of human wills. This, in turn, affected the attitude of the 18th century historians to historical causation. They now came to emphasize human action more than either divine intervention or religious propaganda, but it was not altogether absent.

6. Conclusion

The high ideals of impartiality, truthful writing of history and objectivity, held by representative writers of all ages is in practice, difficult to achieve. Why ? With penetrating analysis Ibn Khaldun makes the pregnant observation that "All records, by their nature, are liable to error,—nay, they contain factors which make fore rror." The sources of error, mentioned by him are (i) partisanship towards a creed or opinion which acts as a blinker on the mind ; (ii) overconfidence in one's source ; (iii) failure to understand what is intended ; (iv) mistaken belief in truth; (v) inability to place an event in proper context ; (vi) common desire to gain favour of the great by praise or flattery ; (vii) ignorance of laws governing transformation of human society (most important) ; (viii) exaggeration,—for men are "fond of all that is strange and unusual."

Inaccuracies might arise also from wilful misrepresentation and distortion, or perversion of fabrication ; due to prejudices, personal, class or otherwise, expectation or gain and fear of punishment, personal antagonism or dislike of particular actions, untrustworthiness of human memory. Above all, behind the facts of history, behind Clio in possession of the truth, there is the historian who will introduce an element of subjectivity, which may affect the absolute, unchanging truth.

The impersonality of physics can hardly be expected in History, the science of man or of the mind. To personal bias of the author or group prejudice was added the ultimate judgements of value in understanding the past. In such an atmosphere historical objectivity would appear to be a game of hide and seek, as elusive as an eel. What was the extent of success of the historiographers of the period in realising the fulfilment of their mission ? Did their performance conform to their self-imposed precepts or even approach the basic norms of history-writing ? A detailed answer is difficult to give. Generally speaking, however, it may be said that their success was limited, judged by modern standards, but their performance was quite creditable, and marked an advance as compared to the previous age, both in volume of output and approach. Even some British writers mined their works.

10. Hindu historians and Memoir-writers Writing in Persian in the century

The silhouette of the solitary spire of the Kashmiri historian, Kalhana, dominated the sky of Indian historiography for centuries. His example was not followed by the Indians as Ibn Khaldun's was not in the Muslim world. Centuries rolled on before the Hindus (except in Assam) attempted anything like history-writing, and then it was not in Sanskrit but Persian.

At first writers writing in Persian were either foreign immigrants or their descendants. Gradually it came to be cultivated not only by Muslims but Hindus whose mother-tongue was not Persian, perhaps for utilitarian purposes of getting jobs. The process continued under Firuz Tughlaq who had a Hindu *farsinavis i muqarrari* and Sikandar Lodi who opened *madrassas* to Hindus. They learnt Persian so well as to be teachers of the Muslims. When the Hindus entered the arena of Indo-Persian historiography and attempted anything like history-writing, it was in Persian, and on the model of Muslim historiography and by following the same technique as of Muslim historians. The Kayasthas of Bulandshahar and the Khattris of the Punjab had begun to study Persian long before the Mughal period and many displayed their skill in different branches of literature from Akbar onwards. The *Lubbu't Tawarkih i Hind* (Marrow of the Histories of India) by Brindaban 'Rai' (son of Rai Bhara Mal, *diwan* of Dara) (1101/1689-90) does not come up the mark, notwithstanding his fond wish.[1] However, it was Sujan Rai who wrote a general history of India (*Khulasat ut Tawarikh* 1107/1695-6), where "the history of Hindu India from the beginning was dovetailed into the history of Muslim India." This is the second major work of history after Kalhana and has been highly extolled by Beveridge. He describes Sujan Rai as the 'Indian Herodotus', the first Hindu to write a general history of India 'and the first Hindu, who wrote history with the doubtful exception of the author of Rajatarangini.' But Elliot has shown that he was a plagiarist.

Bhimsen Burhanpuri (b 1649) left Burhanpur, the place of his birth, at the age of eight to join his father, Raghunandan Das, at Aurangabad.

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[1] The author had been initiated into a knowledge of public affairs early. He intended to write a book "which should briefly bescribe how and in what duration of time, those conquests (i. e. of the Timurides, including Aurangzeb) were achieved, should give the history of former kings, their origin and the causes which occasioned their rise or fall...He wanted to do so, because the defect of Ferishta's work was 'that notwithstanding its being an abstract, it is in many parts too prolix'. He held his own work (wr. 1696) to be superior to those of others as he treated of 'the extensive and resplendant conquests' of Aurangzeb whose empire was unequalled except by that of 'Rum'.

The latter was for sometime Diwan of the Deccan. A hereditary Bundela kayastha civil officer of the Mughals, Bhimsen spent his life in Mughal cities and camps of the Deccan and saw many places of India from Cape Comorin to Delhi. He was familiar with many high Mughal officers and took a leading part in the occurrences himself. A Bundela officer, he joined the service of Dalpat Rao, the chief of Datia (and descendant of Bir Singh Deo Bundela). In the Deccan campaign the Bundela Raja served as Lieutenant of Zulfiqar Khan entitled Nusrat Jang, the distinguished general of Aurangzeb. His journal, *Nuskha i Dilkusha* (c. 1708-9) is very valuable, as supplementing the *Ma 'asir i 'Alamgiri*. He looked at Aurangzeb's reign through the eyes of a contemporary Hindu. Living "near enough to the Mughal officers to learn the events accurately but not near enough to the throne to be lying flatterers," he "knew the truth, and could afford to tell the truth". "He was free from the worst defects of official historians". He has supplied many things which are lacking in the complete official history of Aurangzeb's reign, viz., (i) causes and effects of events, (2) state of the country, (3) condition of the people, their amusements, (4) prices of food, (5) condition of roads, (6) social life of the official class and, (7) incidents in Mughal warfare. For Maratha history under Shivaji also it is of great value in spite of its somewhat defective chronology. Bhimsen gives a high tribute to Shivaji's genius for organisation.

Ishwardas, a Nagar Brahman of Pakpattan in Gujrat (b.c.1654) was the author of *Fatuhat i 'Alamgiri'* (wr.c.1698-9). He served Shaikh ul Islam, Chief Qazi of the empire (c.1668 to 1682-83). As the latter accompanied the Emperor in camp and court, Ishwardas had ample opportunities of knowing correct facts from the chief officials directly or from their servants. Subsequently he served as *amin* of Jodhpur *paragana* under Shujaet Khan, viceroy of Gujrat (1684-1701). He was the first Hindu historian of Aurangzeb writing during his life-time. Though an orthodox Brahman he was not a bigot. But he seldom gives dates of events and their sequence is often wrong. Names of person and places also at times lead to confusion. On the whole, however, he may be described as an honest historian, representing the past as it was.[1]

Among other *Hindu writers who wrote on history and biography of 18th century personalities* were

(i) Kamraj, son of Nain Singh (? Sukh) of Phaphund, author of *A'zam ul harb* (1707) or reign of Azam Shah and *Ibrat*

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[1] The date of its composition (c. 1698-99) is established by Tasneem Ahmad, who has shown that the date given by Sarkar 21 Rabi I 1143/23 Sept. 1730 was the date of transcription of a copy.

namah (1707-1719, end of Farrukh Siyar's reign) ;

(ii) Khushhal Chand or Rai, *munshi* in Diwani office at Delhi (1741), author of *Tarikh i Muhammad Shahi* or *Nadir uz Zamani* (from Aurangzeb to 1734-6).

(iii) Anand Ram 'Mukhlis', son of Raja Hirde Ram Khattri of Lahore, was *wakil* of Qamar ud din Khan (Wazir of Md. Shah) and also, of Abdus Samad Khan, Zakariya Khan (governor of Lahore and Multan). Writer and poet, he had several works or tracts to his credit. Both *Badai-i-Waqai* and *Tazkirah i Anand Ram Mukhlis* (1748) are collections dealing with Nadir Shah's invasion and the first Indian invasion of Ahmad Durrani, His *Guldasta-i-Asrar* gives Nadir's correspondence with Mughal governor of Kabul. Two other works on epistles deal with *Makatib i Ray Rayan Anand Ram 'Mukhlis'* and *Mansurat i Anand Ram.* His *Mirat ul Istilah* is a dictionary of official terms, idioms, proverbs, arranged alphabetically and referring to events and anecdotes by way of explanation.

iv) *Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh* (or Farah Bakhsh) (history of the Ruhelas) by Shiva Prasad wr. 1190/1775-76 for General Kirkpatrick's brother, Capt. Kirkpatrick (E. D. viii) (not *to be* confounded with *Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh of Faizabad).*

v) *Chahar Gulzar i Shujai* by Harcharan Das, an officer of Nawab Ali Kh. (of Delhi), wr. 1201/1787 (Sarkar Coll. National Library), Valuable for Shujauddaulah of Oudh.

vi) *Shahnama i Munawwar ul Kalam* by Shiva Das of Luchnow, wr. 1209/1794 (up to the 4th year of Md. Shah's reign).

vii) Tarikh i Shah Alam by Munna Lal (wr. 1811). E&D. viii.

viii) Lachmi Narayan Khattri Aurangabadi was the author of *Ma'asir i Asafi.*

ix) *Khulasat ut Tawarikh* by Kalyan Singh (1227/1812). (OPL ; Rieu, iii. 925). Its second part is a history of Bengal from Alivardi till 1783 when the author was deposed from deputy governorship of Bihar. It is largely based on the *Siyar.* The author, the son of Shitab Ray, Deputy Governor of Bihar (1765-73) took an active part in many polititical events.

x) *Majma'ul Akhbar* is a useful compilation of universal history arranged topically in 8 books (*akhbars*) and several chapters *(Khabr)* dealing with the rulers of Hindustan, Hindu and Muslim, of Persia, of Islam and the Caliphs, different dynasties, in India and outside, of the Europeans with special reference to the English and even of the New world. Its author, Harsukh Rai, was a Sahkal Khatri, son of Jiwan Das, His great-grandfather, Dyaram, was *diwan* of Mubariz ul Mulk Nawab Sarbuland Khan, while his grandfather, Rai Basant Ram, was Governor of Agra from the time of Jai Singh II to the decline of the Jats. The author regarded history as a science, a means of acquiring 'Knowledge for wise men' and afording 'examples to intelligent observers'. History is 'a precept which improves the understanding of sensible men' ; every past event is a 'precedent' to increase knowledge. Its study is beneficial to rulers and opens the eyes of the common people by supplying useful information. Hence it was a long 'ardent desire of the author to compile this history on the basis of 'abstracts' of 'credible work' and 'authentic narrations'. The patronage of his maternal uncle Rai Sri Narayan, enabled him to fulfil this desire. Though the author wrote it in 1214/42 year of Shah Alam/ 1799, corroborated by the title *Majma'ul Akhbar*, he continues the history to 1220/48 yr. of Sh. Alam/1805.

The limitations of the Hindu writers in Persian were pointed out long ago by Sir H. Elliot forcefully and bitterly. Firstly, they partook of the usual deficiences of Muslim historians. Secondly, they do not throw light on 'the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings of the oppressed Hindus. Thirdly, they were apt write "acording to order or dictation" and "every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron." Fourthly, they were "wedded to the set phrases and inflated language" of the conquerors, saturated with the customary idiom and epithets of Muslim writers.

A different impression is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, while describing the works of Ishwardas Nagar and Bhimsen Burhanpuri. 'The great importance of these writers lies not only in their looking at the reign through the eyes of contemporary Hindus but also in their living near enough to the great Mughal officers to learn the historical events of the time accurately, but not near enough to the throne to be lying flallerers.'

The mental make-up of the Hindus and their angle of viewing things differed from those of the Muslims and were largely free from some inhibitions of the Muslim writers. As Professor Askari holds : "They were not carried away by passion, prejudices and patriotism of a narrow and opportunistic type, and though displaying reasonable loyalty to the crown, they kept themselves aloof from mutual quarrels and intrigues of leading selfish Mughal nobles and courtiers. They were perhaps in a better position to make a more realistic appraisal of personalities, problems and events. They were men with experience of life, were well acquainted with the language and literature of their times, fairly familiar with ways and motives of the contemporaries and had detailed knowledge of government and administration and therefore, they were qualified to offer the study of the existing situation"[1]

ADDITIONAL NOTES

These may be added at pages 27, 36, 37, 51, 54

1. Add on page 27 after 'recorded' (36th line)

Banda, the first political and military leader of the Sikhs, had no contemporary account in Panjabi. Bahadur Shah not only drove him from his conquests in S.E. Punjab, but even ordered a general massacre of the Sikhs (*Nanak-prastan*) wherever found (1710). Farrukh Siyar repeated the same order. For 35 years the Sikhs lived homeless in deserts, hills and forests and then there were life and death struggles with the Afghans Further Lakhpat Rai, *diwan* of Shah Nawaz Khan, governor of the Punjab (1747-8), ordered the destruction of all books of the Sikhs, *Granths* and *Pothis* wherever traced.

2. Add on page 36 after Bhatt Jagjivan in (iv)

(v) **Punjabi :**

Parchian Sewa Das with 50 stories of the Guru period was written in prose (1708-9). Bhai Mani Singh wrote two hagiographic works in prose before his martyrdom (1734) : *Gian Ratnavali Janamsakhi Guru Nanak Ji di*, and *Bhagat-Ratnavali* (also called *Sikhan di Bhagat Mal)*

The *Sri Gur Sobha* (written 1711), though a metrical eulogy on Guru Gobind by an eye-witness, Chandra Sen (poet Sainapat) is "a very reliable piece of history" (Ganda Singh) as it does not indulge in hyperbole.

The *Gur-Bilas Patshahi Das* (written 1751) by Koer Singh, the first detailed account of the life of Guru Gobind Singh, was based on the discourses of Bhai Mani Singh and the works of Sainapat and others.

A genealogical account of the Ten Gurus (*Bansavali Nama Dasam Patshahian Ka*)by Kesar Singh Chhibbar was claimed to have been based on a *vahi* (record book) of Guru Gobind's time, a family heirloom ; completed either in 1769-70 (one copy), or rearranged (1779-80). Critically used, it yields "useful information" (Ganda Singh).

There were two hagiographical works on the lives of Sikh Gurus, both known as *Mahima Prakash* one in poetry written by Sarup Das Bhalla (1776) and the other in prose by Kripal Singh (date not known). There were also two biographical works in verse on Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh, known respectively as *Gurbilas Patshahi Chhevin* by Sohan

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[1] Compare Sheodas and Khushhal Chand, see S. H. Askari, *Shahnama i Munawwar ul Kalam*, xiv.

(1775) and *Gurbilas Dasam Patshahi* by Sukha Singh (1797).

3. Add on page 37 the following :a fter 'period' (19th line)

We have a few autobiographical works in *Punjabi*. The *Apni Katha* (a part of *Bachitar Natak*) is a metrical autobiographical memoir of Guru Gobind Singh. He wrote heroic poetry asking the people to prepare for the inevitable *dharma-yudh* and translated selected pieces from Indian classics into Panjabi.

4. Add on page 51 at the end of section 8. Correspondence after 'Archival material' the following in same para.

Sikh Gurus, Banda Singh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh's widows wrote *Hukumname* or letters to Sikh *sangats* in the Punjab and outside containing incidental references to contemporary history. Published by Punjabi University, Patiala.

5. Add on page 54 after *'Bargis'*

There were quite a number of metrical works in Punjabi relating to the history of the Punjab. A patriotic ballad on Nadir Shah's invasion with special reference to the events in the Punjab and the battle of Karnal was written by Najabat in *Nadir Shah di Var*, condemning Zakariya Khan, the governor of Lahore for submitting to the Persian. The failure of the Mughal rulers, their officers, soldiers and the Indian Rajas against Nadir Shah was still bitterly criticized by Sayyid Ali Haidar in his versified work *Kulliyat-i-Ali Haidar*. Bhai Dayal Singh gives a versified account of the battle between the Afghans under Zaman Shah's General, Ahmad Khan *Shahangchibashi* (governor of the Sind Sagar Doab) and the Sikhs under Sardar Sahib Singh of Gujrat (April 30, 1797), who was victorious.

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